

A HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION
OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN AMERICA



HIL WOLVE MONUMENT, WESTERHAM, KENT

BRITAIN ACROSS THE SEAS

AMERICA

A

HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION

OF THE

BRITISH EMPIRE IN AMERICA

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'THE MAKING OF CANADA, 1763-1815'

'CANADA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY'

'LIFE OF GUY CARLETON, LORD DORCHESTER'

'LIFE OF WOLFE'

1815

LONDON

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PREFACE

TREATING of a wide subject compressed within narrow limits, history is in danger of becoming so crowded with names, places, and events that the result is apt to be a book suitable only for the class-room or the reference shelf. In dealing with the New World this is more than ever likely, as the subject is comparatively unfamiliar and the geography bewildering. It has been the Author's endeavour to treat the matter with a broader brush than precise history is accustomed to use, in the hope that the result may make a wider appeal, and undogged by accumulations of detail and clouds of names not vital to a general understanding, may leave a clearer impression. Certain incidents of colonial history have been much written of and made comparatively familiar. Others quite as important and even as dramatic, though efficiently dealt with, are realised by very few. Of the latter the defence and narrow escape of Canada from the grip of the revolted American colonies, the virtual founding of British Canada by the expelled American loyalists, and the long and desperate three years' resistance of the Canadians to the attempt in 1812-1815 of the United States to annex them, are cases in point. By avoiding detail of secondary importance to a general view, and lists of persons and places no more vital to it, I have hoped to clear the ground, as it were, for a better grasp of the broad essentials. To the same end I have resisted the temptation to obstruct the text by modifications of general statements, social or geographical, that precision might call for but which would be much more confusing to the general reader than their slight relative importance warranted. Many valuable

books on sections of Anglo-Canadian history are accessible, but their appeal in this country is naturally limited. It may be hoped that this general survey of the whole period may incite some readers to cultivate a closer acquaintance with it through their means. On twentieth-century Canada from the modern standpoint it is needless to say numbers of popular books are in circulation, and journalism deals copiously with it.

In regard to the West Indies the case is different. There are, of course, old standard histories of all and each of the islands. But in accessible handy form, excepting a few travel books and a valuable modern volume or two addressed more immediately to students, there is, I believe, no general historical picture of the West Indies available. Probably the immense difficulty of grouping an archipelago of islands so widely scattered and of such varied fortunes is the cause of this. In the brief picture here attempted that almost insurmountable difficulty has been sufficiently brought home to the Author.

I would take this opportunity of expressing my obligations to the Canadian Pacific Railroad Co., and the Agents-General of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick for the loan of many valuable photographs. I have also to thank Mr. Algernon Aspinall, Secretary to the West India Committee, and Mr. Cramer for the photographs of the islands and the mainland here reproduced; the Editor of 'Canada' for two Canadian views; Mr. Beckles Willson for some Nova Scotian views; the Dowager Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava for the portrait of the late Lord Dufferin; Mrs. Simcoe of Wollford for that of General Simcoe; and Messrs. Archibald Constable & Co. for kindly permitting the use of some maps relating to the Seven Years' War draughted for 'The Fight with France for North America.'

A. G. BRADLEY.

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A HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION

THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN AMERICA

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

BEFORE entering upon the actual story of those North American dominions which form such an important part of our great British Empire, it is vital to a proper understanding of the subject that the reader should approach it with some knowledge of how we came to be both the first maritime and the first colonising power in the world. In this brief process some cherished traditions may have to be abandoned, but these very points that need correction increase rather than diminish the wonder and romance of our island story. It will most assuredly, for instance, come as a surprise to many that we English had no reputation whatever for seamanship or maritime adventure till the sixteenth century. One may constantly read to-day allusions to the 'Viking blood' of this or that British admiral, captain, or explorer, and in view of the large share of Norse blood in our veins it seems only natural and proper to make use of what appear such appropriate phrases ; but they are, in sober fact, mere nonsense. The old Norsemen took to the sea because they were comparatively crowded in a barren, rugged country and had to look for their living elsewhere. Among those who in the ninth and tenth

centuries settled in fertile England and became Englishmen, this passion¹ for ploughing the ocean practically vanished, and when, six centuries later, it broke out again in a nobler form and gave a lead to the rest of England, the movement came principally from the south-west, where there was practically no Norse blood.

All through what are known as the Middle Ages, from the Norman Conquest till well into the Tudor period, the English were by no means a sea-going race. Great Britain being an island, there was, of course, a sea-shore population capable of all such navigation as was necessary for local purposes, for coast trade, or for carrying our soldiers into those occasional sea-fights with the French, who were just as much or as little sailors as we were ourselves; fights, however, which were more after the nature of land battles than what we understand by naval actions. There were enough ships and sailors to carry armies or small raiding expeditions to the shores of Normandy and Brittany, or even, on rare occasions, to transport some of the Crusaders direct to the Holy Land.

But in all this there was none of the true spirit of sea adventure, of scientific navigation, of commerce or exploration, as exhibited by the nations of Southern Europe. An Englishman of the time of Edward III, let us say, would have been prodigiously surprised if you had told him that his 'path was on the ocean wave' or that his 'home was on the deep,' whereas in later days and in present ones any Briton, though personally the veriest landlubber, feels figuratively the thrill of truth in these famous lines. The carrying trade of the world was then done by Italians, Genoese, Spaniards, or Portuguese. England and France were held in this, as in most other respects, backward nations. Though she manufactured for home consumption to a certain extent, England was mainly a wool-producing country, and supplied the looms of the Flemish cities which in splendour and all the arts of civilisation were far ahead of her, just as Australia now supplies those of Yorkshire. England, in short, till the Tudor period

was what would now be termed 'provincial' to a marked degree, though redeemed to some extent by the fact of her kings owning large possessions in France. Plenty of foreigners have left us their impressions of the medieval Englishman. He appeared to them a huge eater and drinker, rather lavish in habit, and much addicted to fine clothes. Now he is energetic, businesslike, and a little repellant to strangers. The Englishman of the feudal period, however, struck the foreigner as indolent, both mentally and commercially, a pleasant, genial, easy-going fellow, though even then firmly convinced that there was nothing like England and no one like an Englishman. A body of our countrymen fighting with the Spaniards against the Moors greatly interested a learned Spanish ecclesiastic with the army. They came, as it seemed to him, from a barbarous island in the North Sea, and were altogether new specimens of the human race. They were brave as lions and never recognised defeat; but in the camp at night, when the Spanish army had said their devotions and were wrapped in slumber, the islanders spent the hours in boisterous mirth and luxury, to the great disturbance of their allies.

The English of the feudal period before the Tudors were essentially a martial race, a quality, however, greatly suppressed for long periods by the security of their lives and the comparative absence of opportunities. The counties along the borders of Scotland and Wales were actively and continually martial, for they were always fighting, whereas the rest of England, as regards the masses, save for brief intervals of civil war, were quite unwarlike. Then in the fourteenth century came the Hundred Years' conflict with France, in which a war fever raged and the English, or rather their Anglo-Norman nobility, reaped great wealth by the plunder of that distracted country, while the soldiers acquired a reputation in such battles as Crecy, Poitiers, and Agincourt that was something entirely new on the Continent. When the war closed with the loss of the French provinces that had belonged to the English Crown and had kept up

a certain intercourse between this country and the Continent, England became more isolated than ever, while the Wars of the Roses absorbed all the energies of a civilisation that had made little real progress for generations. It was this same long sanguinary period of civil strife that terminated the four centuries which we commonly call the Middle Ages and paved the way for another kind of England. Hitherto, though Englishmen were individually free in comparison with the masses of most other nations, the ruling influences were the great barons and the Church, upon whose good will the King largely depended for his place and authority. It was the age of feudalism, and the great slaughter among the chiefs and other members of the ruling families in the Wars of the Roses was the first step to its extinction. The second was the advent of the Tudor Kings, who, seeing the opportunity which a half-decimated nobility gave them for freeing the Crown from baronial influence did all they could to repress its restoration while encouraging the growth of a new aristocracy sprung from the merchants, lawyers, and country gentry. Wales, then a warlike little country and still but half consolidated, was definitely reconciled by the crowning of a Welshman, Henry VII, as King of England, and the war-sick land had peace; for Scotland though often hostile, never seriously penetrated the northern counties, while Ireland was still a distant, semi-barbarous colony partially occupied by English garrisons.

The fortified castles of England and Wales, no longer needed, began to give way in the time of Henry VIII to comfortable country houses. The monopoly of the old feudal barons passed away with the castles, and a far more numerous class of ordinary gentry, country squires, in fact, and wealthy merchants, took their place beside what was left of the old nobility. England, in short, became the quasi democratic country it has been ever since, giving full respect always to rank and birth and perhaps even more to wealth and position, but offering no artificial obstacle to the humblest in rising by merit to the highest position. In this

INTRODUCTORY

England of the Tudor and subsequent periods, too, trade became a legitimate and popular calling for men of birth;



QUEEN ELIZABETH

no stigma, as in other countries then and now, was attached to it. Agriculture was still, however, the main business of Englishmen. Men of varied ranks owned land, while others of varied degrees were tenants of it. Persons of

humble origin made money, bought an estate, and became gentlemen, much as they do now. For this is nothing new, as people often imagine ; it has been going on in England ever since the Tudor period, and has greatly helped to keep the nation vigorous, liberty-loving, and contented. Since this time there has never been a privileged noble caste in England, as in most Continental countries, that the most worthless member can hardly sink out of, nor the worthiest outsider often attain to. There have been privileged classes, to be sure, in England at all times, though on a more reasonable and sorer principle, and above all recruited from the cream of the populace in every successive generation.

But one event of tremendous import occurred under Henry VIII to assist in the great change which was now coming over England, and this was the Reformation. It was not only the greater freedom of religious thought and action the movement produced, but the larger part of the vast estates of the Church were distributed among laymen at the suppression of the monasteries. The not generally creditable method of their distribution and the hardships thereby involved do not affect our subject here. The upheaval only served to increase further the growing numbers of country gentlemen of various degrees who lived on their estates and who, together with their numerous blood connexions in other walks of life, were to form the backbone of that new Protestant and awakened England which was to develop later so great a genius for both seamanship and colonisation.

The dissolution of the monasteries in 1536-1540, by extinguishing the chief source of charitable relief to the poor, occasioned much distress and want of employment. Sheep farming, which of all industries provides the least employment, was profitable, and England, with a smaller total population than modern London, is frequently alluded to by writers of Queen Elizabeth's time as crowded and over full. But the Englishman had to become an ocean sailor and explorer before he caught the colonising fever, and

throughout the sixteenth century he was learning to be both. In the meantime, the Spaniard and the Portuguese were far ahead of him. Christopher Columbus had landed in the West Indies in 1492, and is regarded as the discoverer of the New World, for we must not touch here on the quite likely possibility of earlier navigators having previously sighted or even trodden some portion of the American coast. But five years after the first famous voyage of Columbus two Venetians, John Cabot and his son Sebastian, partly domiciled at Bristol, and the latter born there, discovered Newfoundland. In the following year, with six ships from Bristol, Sebastian returned there. But the East Indies had already been opened for trade by the Portuguese, and the leading motive of these Atlantic sailings was the discovery of a short cut that way to India. But Sebastian Cabot was incidentally the discoverer of what became British North America. Though not feted as was Columbus in Spain, he was followed about the streets of Bristol by admiring groups, while Henry VII, who had granted him a patent for a monopoly of trading in the newly discovered land, paid him £10. There exists to-day in the account books of that King this curious and momentous sentence, 'To hym that discovered the New Isle £10.' Yet it was more than a hundred years before the English made their first enduring settlement on American soil.

Let us, therefore, take a brief glance at what they were doing all this time and why this delay.

Henry VIII, though brutal in the matter of his wives and utterly dishonest in that of Church spoliation, was in some respects a wise King. An autocrat like his father, he objected, and with good reason, to a powerful nobility grouped around the throne, full of dangerous personal ambitions, who regarded the people as a pawn in their game and the King as another when they dared. The aim of the Tudors was to govern in their own person, with the help of an able lieutenant or two, a people more equal in condition, and to prevent any class or clique asserting itself too strongly. Among several wise things, Henry went in

for shipbuilding, and founded centres where scientific navigation was taught, while the English now began to cultivate seamanship as a science and pursuit. Books were written on the subject and maritime adventure and discovery gained a gradual hold on the national mind.

Spain and Portugal were already established in Central and Southern America on a large scale, for Cortes had conquered Mexico and Pizarro had done the like to Peru, while Brazil was occupied by the Portuguese, who were also seated in the West Indies. England as yet scarcely counted, though a few of her piratically inclined ships were beginning to buzz about in the Spanish Main like troublesome mosquitoes. England, too, by her flinging off all Papal control, an action which further isolated her from Europe, was execrated by the Catholic powers, and most of all by the Pope, who had granted everything known and unknown across the Atlantic, in a manner that to us nowadays seems amusing in its audacity, to Spain and Portugal. For the skill, the bravery, and the seamanship of these people no praise can be too great; for their horrible cruelty no condemnation could be too strong. They had fallen on tropical or semi-tropical countries containing a comparatively thick and in their way civilised and generally mild population, and for that very reason quite incapable of resisting the well-armed and disciplined Spaniards and Portuguese.

These nations had regarded their new possessions solely as a means of enriching themselves, not as outlets for the steady industry of their surplus population or as new homes for persons out of sympathy with the laws and opinions of their day, such as later on distinguished the colonial movement in England. Mines of gold and silver stimulated the greed and the cruelty of the conquerors of Mexico and Peru, just as the riches they brought to Europe stimulated the greed of the English, and by making us temporarily, and so far as the sea was concerned, a nation of pirates turned us by the experience thus gained into a nation of

colonisers. The quest and capture of Spanish treasure ships and the sacking of Spanish-American towns and



forts became a business. Catholic Spain, unapproached as a world power in the sixteenth century, was bitterly hostile to heretic England, while the latter returned the feeling with an ardour quickened by the pretensions of her great rival to exclude the rest of Europe from the New World

and its seas. Whether the nations were formally at peace or war the trade of the buccaneer went gaily on, save for some slight cessation during the brief reign of 'Bloody Mary,' with its Catholic reaction and ill-advised marriage with Philip of Spain. The ever-famous Spanish Armada in 1588 was the great and final effort made by England's powerful foe to crush the little heretic country that was continually leaping at her throat and flanks, and bleeding her so sorely. That memorable victory not only averted unthinkable misfortunes for England but was the real dawn of her naval renown. For Spain had not only the vast wealth of the American mines at her back but she held the Low Countries, then the richest region in Europe, in her grip.

It will be asked what was Portugal, the only other colonial power of that day, doing all this time? At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign she was united with Spain, a bond that endured for nearly a century and involved the smaller country in the loss of considerable oversea territory at the hands of her partner's enemies. Holland, soon to be great as a colonising and maritime power, was still distracted by its long struggle for freedom from Spain. The Italian States were already declining upon the ocean. France, on the other hand, like England, was beginning to breed hardy navigators and daring explorers. But the French, from their geographical position and also from their religious and political sympathies with Spain, though not always friendly, were not free to take such tremendous liberties with the 'Dons' and to 'sing their King's beard' with such audacity as our reckless islanders. But the English were in truth not thinking of colonising even yet. Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher and men like them were dispatched or betook themselves on adventure, trade, exploration, or gold-finding, with always at the back of their minds the hope of finding a short sea passage through America to the East Indies. We must not touch here on their thrilling adventures, which, though mainly undertaken for material profit or from warlike zeal, had a flavour of that romantic spirit

with which the discovery of such a vast and wonderful new world had imbued men's minds in Western Europe. It had fired those of the English at least as much as any, for the time of Elizabeth was one of intellectual culture and development beyond the conception of former generations. This new love of and skill in arts, letters, and poetry came chiefly from Italy, but it found fresh expression in the English nature, and was greatly affected by the vision of the New World which dazzled the imagination of all feeling Englishmen, whether sailors or landmen; not as yet for the corn and beet and tobacco it could grow, but for the possible wealth to be had for the gathering and for the mysteries and romance that lay hidden behind a tolerably explored coast-line. Spain, it must be remembered, had reaped enormous wealth without any labour but the short, sharp, heroic effort of conquest. In these countries, readily tamed, one might almost say, by an old native civilisation, the earlier Spaniards could settle themselves comfortably on rich and beautiful estates, and draw besides, on behalf of their home Government or their own pockets, fabulous wealth from the mines by the enslaved labour of the wretched natives, whom they treated, for the most part, brutally, or by negroes imported from Africa. These last were frequently conveyed and sold to them by English sea captains, for the slave trade, one is forced to admit, was one of the many schools of adventure that made the English so great as sailors. It is no wonder that such an El Dorado dazzled the imagination and fired the zeal of an island nation like our own.

But our colonising was to be of a far more laborious kind than the Spaniards', with for a long time much more of toil and hardship than of wealth. Of this I shall speak presently, but before doing so there is to be mentioned yet one more pursuit followed by the English in the sixteenth century which contributed to their seaman-ship, namely, the Newfoundland fisheries. Then value was realised soon after the discovery of the country, and fishing-boats from all the nations of Western Europe

began to congregate and spend their summers there. Salt fish, when most of Europe had rigidly to observe the Fasts ordained by the Catholic Church, played a more important part in the diet of nations than now, and fish, particularly cod, were caught in such great abundance on the Newfoundland coasts that it was worth while braving the Atlantic and remaining half a year absent from home, so heavy were the harvests reaped by the adventurous fishermen. England, Spain, Portugal, France, Holland and one or two other countries, all sent a fleet of vessels, which from small beginnings grew steadily throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Speaking generally, this motley assemblage of sailors agreed very well together and seldom brought the quarrels of their respective nations across the Atlantic. Indeed, there was a sort of tacit and sane understanding that they came there to earn their living, and it would be foolish, after undertaking the risks and trouble of so great a journey, to fall to fighting at the end of it. So an 'Admiral' was appointed every year, whose business it was to see that all the proper rules and conditions were observed. Quite early the English seem to have gained a sort of recognised title to this honour, and gradually the 'Admiral' came to be always an Englishman.

For a long time the coast of Newfoundland was only used as a place of temporary sojourn for drying and curing the fish, but gradually a small permanent settlement grew up where St. John's now stands, and in one or two other places, and the English acquired a recognised title to the shore and everything behind it. But these fisheries are of special importance, because in the West of England, particularly in Devonshire, they became a great source of revenue and a splendid school for the making of sailors. These fishing vessels, of which hundreds sailed every April, were not generally the property of the men who sailed them and did the actual fishing, since the expenses were large, but they were more often owned and provided by persons at home who had the money to do so. So it came about that a large number of individuals all through the West of England

had an interest in the Newfoundland fisheries, while the number of young men who went there as sailors and fishermen,



SIR JOHN HAWKINS

or sometimes for the mere sake of adventure, was so great that all Devonshire looked on the departure in April and the home-coming in October or November of the Newfoundland Fleet, as the two great occasions of the year.

The chief ports from which these ships sailed were Plymouth, Falmouth, Barnstaple, Bideford, and Bristol.

So the territory of Newfoundland, 'our oldest colony,' became in time recognised as an English possession; but the English at home who supported the fishery with their money discouraged and even made laws against settlement there which eventually, however, proved ineffective. Their ships did not merely bring the salted and dried fish, mostly cod, to England, for many sailed direct to continental Europe and exchanged their cargoes for wine, oil, and other Southern products, which they brought on to England, making thereby two profits in a single voyage. The English capitalists, ship-owners, and merchants were afraid of a colony growing up in Newfoundland itself which would build ships and, with the advantage of living on the spot, do their own trading direct with Europe, spend the profits in developing their own settlements, and thereby injure the English trade in which so many West country people were interested. So while the natural harbours of Newfoundland were crowded with fishing vessels of all nations and the shores lined with sheds and stages for curing fish, and even with huts for temporary accommodation, it was a long time before any resident communities to speak of made their home in the colony. It was not, to be sure, a very inviting country, though nothing like so desolate as it was then and is even now supposed to be. Fogs were prevalent and the soil generally indifferent, though in parts quite capable of producing, as may be seen to-day, good grain, roots, and grass. But fish remained, even after little towns and settlements had grown up, as it still remains though other interests are now developing, the great staple of the Newfoundlander. These conditions make the after story of the colony comparatively uninteresting.

We have gone far, however, in these remarks beyond the sixteenth century and the dawn of English colonisation, and as Newfoundland will be spoken of again we must return to the reign of Elizabeth, towards the close of which the

- idea of planting permanent settlements in the New World first took shape.

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However freely English navigators might plunder and trade in Spanish-American seas, starting a settlement within reach of the Spaniards and leaving it practically at their mercy was then out of the question. Some French Huguenots tried the experiment as far north as Florida, but were visited by a strong Spanish force, murdered to a man, and their bodies left hanging on trees with papers pinned upon the breast of every corpse inscribed 'This to Frenchmen and heretics.' A memorable revenge was taken for this by a daring Frenchman, but the stirring incident is outside our purview. But the coast farther north seemed beyond the Spaniards' range, though they claimed, as will be remembered, entire dominion over the whole Western world.

That great Elizabethan Sir Walter Raleigh, soldier, navigator, courtier and scholar, was always foremost among those anxious to promote the permanent settlement across the Atlantic of what nowadays would be called our surplus population, and he devoted his energies and most of his large fortune to two serious attempts, both of which failed. Raleigh had caused a great part of the coast of North America to be surveyed, and on the strength of the Cabots' discoveries now claimed it as English soil, naming it Virginia in honour of the reigning Queen. A spot in what is now North Carolina had been selected by his agents for the experiment, and in 1584 he dispatched seven ships carrying 108 settlers under Sir Richard Grenville and Ralph Lane, and this was the first serious attempt at true colonisation in the New World made by England. The adventurers landed safely on the Island of Roanoke, off the coast of North Carolina, at that time vaguely included under the general designation of Virginia. The country delighted them and the Indians were at first friendly, but subsequent difficulties and mishaps so dogged their path, and so many of the settlers were totally unsuited for such a life, that it was decided to accept the offer of a

passage home made by Sir Francis Drake, who in the following summer arrived to look after them. Nothing daunted,



however, Raleigh sent out another and larger consignment of 150 emigrants, including several women, in the following year to the same spot. Of these unfortunate people nothing definite was ever heard or seen again. Raleigh despatched several ships to their relief, but their captains went off

- buccaneering on their own account instead of following out instructions.

Four years later traces of the settlers were discovered, but nothing more, and long afterwards when Virginia was actually settled traditions were found among the Indians of a body of white prisoners who, after being enslaved for many years, were ultimately massacred by their savage captors. Thus ended Raleigh's attempt to colonise North America, and the glorious business of the Spanish Armada for the moment called him to even more urgent endeavours. America was not after all to be colonised by Englishmen in this splendid sixteenth century, the century of the Tudors. Marvels of seamanship and exploration had been accomplished, Drake had sailed through the Straits of Magellan, harried the Spanish ports on the Pacific, coasted far up the unknown shores of California, and thence sailed homeward by the Indies. Oxenham had built ships on the Isthmus of Panama and sailed them on the Western Ocean. Humphrey Gilbert, Raleigh's half-brother, after world-wide adventures and an attempt at colonisation, had been overwhelmed by an Atlantic storm in his little fifteen-ton ship, and disappeared into the waves calling out cheerily, 'God is as near us on the sea as on the land.'

Martin Frobisher and John Davies had sailed the Arctic seas, and their names live up there yet upon our maps, nor must the name of Hakluyt be omitted as one of the founders of the new Imperial Britain that was coming. A clergyman and Canon of Westminster, who never left the shores of England, Hakluyt, by his scientific knowledge, his collection and publication of the experiences of the greatest explorers of his day, and his own personal labours and enthusiasm in the cause of colonisation, has made his name almost as familiar as that of Drake or Raleigh.

Neither the Tudors nor their century, however, were to see England a colonial power. Strangely enough, the great work was to be achieved under the Stuart Kings, who themselves cared little or nothing for such things, and who, both in their faults and their virtues, were

inclined to narrowness, with not always a proper regard even for the honour of England, and by temperament not inclined to sympathy with the noble aspirations and the far-seeing minds of the many successors of the great Elizabethan navigators. Some of these last, however, survived to see our first colonies founded, while many who as boys and young men had caught or inherited their great traditions lived to be among the founders.

I should like to remind the reader, too, that the ships in which these adventurous men laid the foundations of Empire and sailed every ocean were usually no larger than the fishing vessels which may be seen any time going out of our ports to catch herring and mackerel in the Channel or the North Sea. It will be noticed, moreover, that in writing of these beginnings of our world-wide Empire the term England is used instead of Britain, which in these days is the right and proper term. Scotland, which for a hundred and fifty years has been such a helpful partner, both in our wars and in building up our colonies, was in the Tudor period an alien and often hostile country, and though through the seventeenth century we shared the same King and ceased to fight one another, we remained almost as estranged as before. For both these centuries, too, Scotland was both a backward and a poor nation, with neither trade, shipping, nor sailors to speak of, and greatly distracted by internal wars and quarrels. In short, though in great part the same race and speaking the same language, the two nations disliked each other cordially. Ireland for these two centuries was little more than a hostile colony held at the point of the sword. Wales, of course, was one with England, and though a sea-washed country, had not much genius for sea-going. Some few Welshmen, however, distinguished themselves among the buccaneers and colonisers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and I should mention here a curious and well-known legend of how a Welsh Prince, Madoc, discovered America in the twelfth century and settled there with his ship's crew. There are even a certain number of people who believe

this to be not altogether a fairy tale. But then it is very possible indeed that the Norsemen of the same



JAMES I

period, who of course had settled in Iceland and visited Greenland, may have also known the North American coast.

And now, with the advent of the new century and King James I, came the actual beginnings of our colonial

Empire. It seems almost unnatural to treat with comparative brevity the story of these our old North American colonies, because they broke away from us nearly two hundred years later and placed themselves outside the avowed compass of this book. But as by far the greater part of our colonial possessions through the seventeenth and most of the eighteenth century consisted of what are now the Atlantic States of the American Union, some account of their rise and progress is indispensable. One feels that the subject is so vast and so intimately connected with the training of our forefathers in the practice and science of colonising and colonial relationships, that such scant notice is quite inadequate. But these great colonies, which the world had envied us for so long, broke away, as the reader knows, in 1776. So there is nothing to be done, having regard to our title-page, but to tell as briefly as is compatible with lucidity of the founding and earlier progress of what became afterwards the United States.

Elizabeth had rejoiced in the doings of her great sea captains and cared nothing for any foreign power. The Stuarts cared little for these great ventures that were silently shaping the future of England and the European powers, but they mostly cherished the greatest disinclination to offend France and Spain. The Tudors with all their faults had been strong rulers, who understood their people and were feared or respected by foreign nations. Never had the English nation been more devoted to the throne than when the Stuarts stepped into what should have been an easy seat. But in forty years they had alienated the affection of so large a proportion of their people that they not only rose in arms against them, but upset the very Monarchy itself. With the utmost enthusiasm of a generous people, as we know, they were given another chance, and this also within an even shorter period they sacrificed, to be driven into hopeless exile. Yet it was under the lukewarm encouragement, one might almost say the indifference to such matters, of the Stuart Kings, that England became a flourishing colonial power. One of the earliest

acts of King James in 1603, when he came to the throne, was to fling Raleigh into the Tower, where he kept him for years, ultimately to cut his head off in deference to the King of Spain, who had a most excusable aversion to this enthusiastic supporter of English colonial enterprise.

CHAPTER II

THE NORTH AMERICAN COLONIES

THE first English colonies were helped or promoted by great corporations which included the most prominent men of the day as shareholders. The East India Company, which secured India for the Empire and ruled it till the Mutiny, was founded at this period, but with a view only to commercial enterprises. The North American or Virginia Company had the founding of a colony as a leading feature in their scheme, though they still dreamed of gold mines and a short passage to the Indian Ocean, to say nothing of marvels unbeknown lying within that mysterious, unexplored land. In 1606 they received the Charter from King James which granted them the whole of the North American shore lying between Canada and Florida.

The first experiment was made in the Chesapeake Bay, on territory which assumed more particularly that name of Virginia hitherto applied to the whole country, and kept it ever afterwards. Three small ships and 105 settlers left the Thames in December 1606. The council of the company, which sat in London, sent them off, and Drayton, then Poet Laureate, wrote a farewell ode of many stanzas beginning

You brave heroic minds
Worthy your country's name
That honour still pursue
While fawning hinds
Lurk here at home with shame
Go and subdue

These particulars are worth noting, as this was actually the founding of that great British nation in North America

now represented by the United States, and our own possessions, north and south. Virginia was a fertile, undulating country, deeply indented with navigable rivers, but, like the whole eastern part of North America, covered with dense forests. The English of the American colonies, therefore, had to hew their way laboriously, and carve out their farms and homes from thick woods, and this made settlement more slow and difficult than in countries of plain, prairie, or veldt. The first settlers of Virginia, from inexperience, troubles with Indians, and the fevers incidental to the first opening out of virgin forest by Europeans, particularly when suffering privation and hardship, failed dismally. The climate here is approximately that of England in winter, but much hotter in summer. The first batch of colonists nearly all died off within a year or two, and other shiploads dispatched by the Company fared scarcely better: in both cases owing no little to unsuitable qualities and foolish behaviour. For many were gentlemen of broken fortune or indifferent character, and unequal either to the work, hardship, or discipline of such a venture. A few strong characters, however, rose superior to the rest and saved the colony from complete extinction.

Captain John Smith of Lincolnshire, who with the assistance of some of his companions has left us a full account of it all, was the hero of early Virginia. It is a famous and thrilling story, far more stimulating than any novel, since it is a faithful narrative of what the pioneers of our race actually did and suffered while they were laying the foundation of great States. After some hairbreadth escapes from complete destruction, once by the Indians, from which they were saved by the devotion of a young Indian girl, Pocahontas, the daughter of the local king, and once from starvation, by the timely arrival of succour from England, the colony gradually grew into prosperity. The older hands got used to the country, learned how to build proper houses, to clear the forests, and cultivate the land, to kill the game and fish, and above all to keep on terms with the Indians. So when fresh emigrants from time to

time arrived, after two or three months' tossing in small ships, they found experienced friends to save them from the terrible mistakes of the first settlers. They began, moreover, to come out now as farmers, not as useless gentlemen idlers, who expected to pick up gold or fortunes in some mysterious way as in a fairyland, and met instead disease, hunger, and death ; and this land of Virginia when dealt with properly proved to be a fair and pleasant place of habitation. Tobacco and maize, already grown by the Indians in small patches, became and remained the chief industries on a large scale of the growing English community ; for tobacco was now introduced into England, and became for Virginia and the other colonies which sprung up around her the chief source of wealth and export trade, though nearly all the crops and fruits which grew in England flourished here also, besides others natural to a warmer clime. The colonists, moreover, became in time too numerous and powerful for the Indians, who retired gradually into the back country as civilisation pushed its way inland.

Now, most of these earlier colonies had some distinguishing characteristic, as representing various groups of Englishmen who shared the same ideas in religion or politics : some of them leaving England solely because their opinions were out of touch with those of the time and involved either persecution or unpopularity. Virginia and her immediate neighbours had little of this element among their people, who aimed rather at creating, so far as possible, another England. They had generally no quarrel with the Mother Country, save that they found it too crowded, or merely thought, as men have done at all times, that they could use their capital better in a new country. Virginia was modelled so far as possible on England. As time went on, counties were formed and a Lieutenant appointed to each, with justices of the peace and an enrolled militia. There was a Governor appointed by the Crown, with a Council which, though not hereditary, filled the same place as the House of Lords, while a chamber of burgesses, elected by popular vote, had the same power as our House of Commons in the

making of laws and taxes. The nature of the country rather favoured the growth of large estates, and so there



came to be a sort of aristocracy in the colony side by side with another class of smaller farmers also owning their own land. I am saying so much about Virginia because it was

the type on which other colonies were founded afterwards around it and more or less modelled themselves.

The English North American provinces fell broadly into two groups, northern and southern, divided during the seventeenth century by a strip of Dutch territory that afterwards became New York. Virginia, as related, was the first and chief of the southern, while Massachusetts, of which I shall speak presently, led the northern group. Divergencies of soil, climate, and method of settlement, of social habit and religious opinion, caused them to grow farther apart as time went on. The colonies that were founded more or less in the manner of Virginia in the seventeenth century were Maryland to the north of it, organised by Lord Baltimore, and Carolina to the south, soon afterwards divided into two provinces. Georgia was not founded till shortly before the colonies broke away from the Mother Country, so hardly counts in what is known as the colonial period of the United States. Nor is Delaware, for the same reason, as well as for its small size and indeterminate character, worth considering. But if you will look at a modern map of that great country which owes its existence to ours and follow up the coast-line from Florida, which in those days was Spanish territory, you will see our old southern colonies represented by the States of Georgia, South and North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland, in the order named. But lest it should be thought that because Virginia was founded a dozen years before Massachusetts, the virtual pioneer and leader of the northern group, that these last were less important than their southern sisters, we must leave for the moment any further details about the latter and briefly describe how the others came into being. Going northward along the coast we must pass over Pennsylvania, the great Quaker colony, as William Penn did not found it till much later, and also New York, which we took from the Dutch, who had settled it, till we come to the group of States generally known as New England.

Now, in the great colonising reign of James I, the out-

come of the greater days of Elizabeth, the chartered company of Virginia split into two sections with distinct boards of management. Their patent rights extended from Canada, already recognised as French and tentatively occupied, to the Spanish province of Florida. The arrogant claim of Spain to the entire New World had now been tacitly abandoned owing to the hard blows dealt her declining power by the English, and in a less degree by the French and Dutch adventurers. She and Portugal, at this time united, had in truth quite enough on their hands in South and Central America. So everything to the northward was now open for competition between England, France, and Holland. The last named, now free from the Spanish yoke, became in the seventeenth century for a brief period the greatest colonising and wealthiest trading power in the world. But her path lay east rather than west. With the exception of New York (then New Amsterdam) and in the West Indies, now coming into the sphere of European conflict, Holland attempted no rivalry with England, who was therefore left confronted in North America by France alone. For the moment we had by far the lion's share, our rivals being squeezed up into what seemed the frozen confines of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. In what manner they contested our North American supremacy in years of war belongs to a later period, and will be told in a later chapter, but in the meantime nearly the whole coast and its hinterland lay open to the English. The London wing of the great chartered company controlling the southern half of this territory, then known generally as Virginia, had, as we have seen, planted there a successful colony. And now, while the little community on the James river was emerging from its trials into security, the Plymouth Company, so called because their ships mostly sailed from Bristol and Plymouth, was to plant, though in different fashion, the first settlement in its northern territory, known generally as New England. They had already, in 1607, the very year in which Virginia was founded, made one attempt. But the experience of a single winter had proved enough, and the suffering colonists

abandoned the enterprise. The group of persons, however, who in 1620 went out to succeed and actually found New England, were no haphazard adventurers like the Virginians who had been collected and dispatched by the company.

Now, the Reformation had not altered the idea that a State Church was necessary, to which all must conform. Whether men were attached to the Roman Communion, which was the more persecuted because its members were frequently suspected of appealing to foreign aid, or to the various Non-conformist sects already growing up, they had generally to worship under difficulties and often under dangers. How acute these were depended greatly on the disposition of the reigning monarch or the authorities for the time being, and it would be quite impossible to deal with the matter here. But it will be enough to say that several small congregations calling themselves Independents had been formed, and by persons mainly of respectable middling position, who used no liturgy and recognised no Church authority beyond the minister they themselves elected and supported. Persecution had driven some of these enthusiasts to Holland, and it was while there that they decided on removing to the New World and made their contract with the Plymouth Company. They would not have been received in Virginia, whose colonists, in Church as in other matters, clung to all things orthodox and English. But New England was still a wilderness, and thither in a ship called the *Mayflower*, stopping on the way at Plymouth, they were conveyed at the expense of the Company without mishap. These people were of different mettle from the ill-assorted gallants and others who formed the first consignments to Virginia. They were serious-minded, hard-headed Puritan folk, with republican ideas and narrow religious views, making the Old Testament rather than the New the law of their daily life.

Even before landing these people began that orderly and disciplined method of public conduct which was to distinguish the provinces they founded till they had become great and prosperous. The exiles disembarked at a spot

which they named 'Plymouth Rock,' after the town that



had treated them hospitably on their voyage out. They survived, though with the loss of fifty souls, nearly half their

number, the first winter and spring, always the crucial test with these early North American colonists, and doubly so in a climate resembling that of Canada. They were both discreet and fortunate with the Indians, and had comparatively little trouble with them for half a century.

The first batch of colonists at Plymouth, known as the Pilgrim Fathers, were followed by several more, and during the next ten years many small groups of like sympathies were planted all along the rugged coast. Everything was orderly with these people, who settled their affairs by mass meetings, reverting instinctively to the custom of their remote Saxon ancestors. By 1643, the beginning of the great Civil War in England, there were 3000 persons in the colony, and it became necessary to appoint elected representatives for the various districts. Another community just to the south of the Plymouth settlement had in the meantime shown such vitality that in 1629 Charles I granted them a Royal Charter, and under the title of 'The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England' they prospered greatly, and founded the town of Boston.

The early colonists of Massachusetts had among them many men of high standing. They were Puritans in that they rejected many of the forms of the Church of England though not yet actually severed from it; but they were almost as narrow as the Independents of the Plymouth colony, and soon, dissociating themselves finally from Anglicanism, built Independent churches. Yet they were so fiercely theological that Church and State government were practically one. No freeman was admitted to the colony who was not a Church member, and the magistrates and ordinary courts had power to punish people for laxity in religious observances or for moral shortcomings that in England were a man's own private business. It was, in short, a religious tyranny, though no one, of course, need have emigrated to New England who was not prepared to put up with it, and, strange as it may possibly seem to us now, there were great numbers of people so carried away

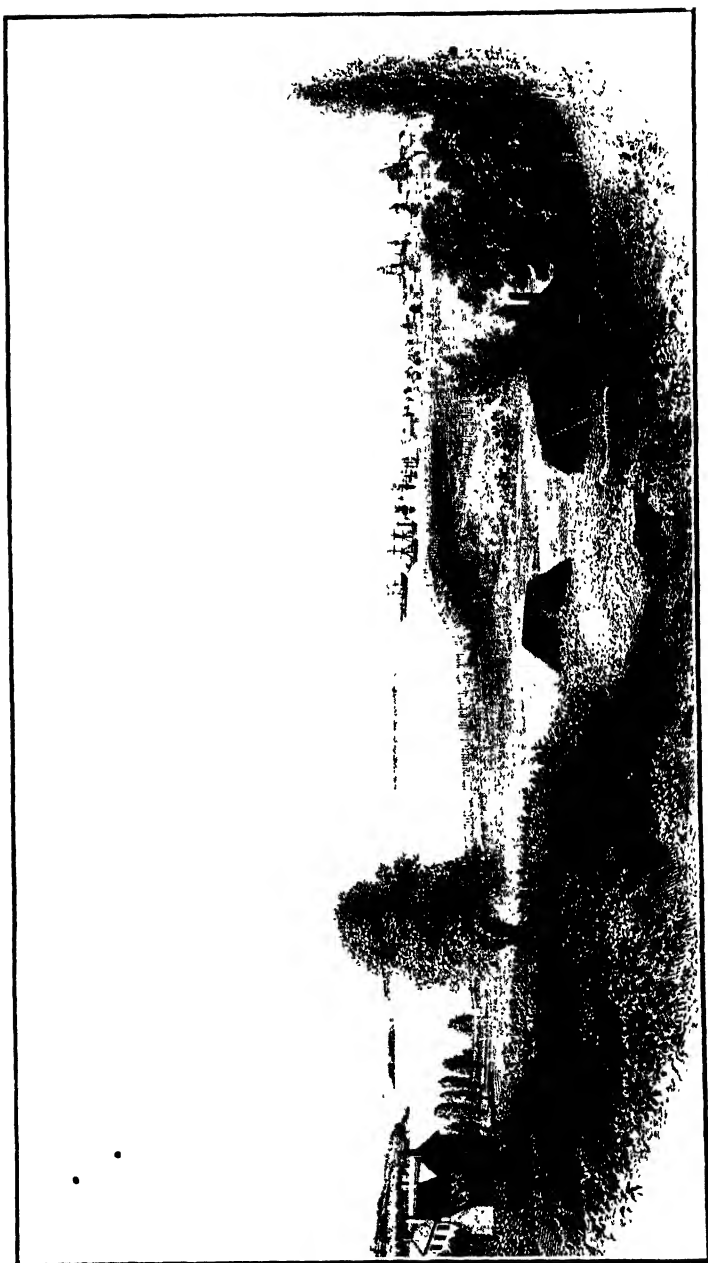
by the dark and grim side of religion that they liked it. A colonist from Virginia, however, who had the same liberty as his Church of England relations at home, would not have endured New England for a day.

The New Englander in the main regarded the laws of the Old Testament, though intended for an Eastern nation before the advent of Christianity, as divinely ordained for the daily lives of modern Englishmen, and a moral code based on such principles was for generations rigidly enforced. At this early period a Nonconformist minister, Roger Williams, was banished by the General courts of Massachusetts for declaring publicly that magistrates had no concern with the souls of men. So he went outside the jurisdiction of the Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies and founded that which became the province of Rhode Island. I will not attempt here to describe the different shades of theological opinion which obtained in the various parts of New England. Pleasures of every description, even the most innocent, were frowned upon, and all time not spent in work or religious exercises or listening to long sermons was vanity, while strict laws saw that these opinions were enforced. Yet the gloomy temperament and the stern qualities which approved of all such things made for material success. The soil was poorer, the climate far harsher than in Virginia; yet the New Englanders made much more of their country. They built good towns and villages, and founded common schools everywhere, whereas in the easy-going southern colonies there were neither towns nor villages nor schools to speak of. They were intensely republican in temper, and so far as was possible in those days all men were regarded as equal. This was not so difficult for a time, as a majority of the people were plain farmers or traders, of similar means and education, manual labour being regarded as honourable, whereas in Virginia there were several different degrees of people, gentlemen, yeomen, labourers, and so forth, much as in England, while the prevalence of indentured servitude, convict or otherwise, and later on of negro slavery

generated a contempt for labour even among a class of farmers to whom it was naturally congenial.

The Civil War between King and Parliament, which broke out in England in 1641, and resulted in the substitution of the Commonwealth for the Monarchy, affected the colonies very materially. The New Englanders, although they had very little sympathy or affection for a Mother Country from whose persecution they had fled to set up for themselves, naturally took the side of the Parliament, while the Virginians, Churchmen in religion, cherishing an affection for England and disliking republican notions, for the most part took the side of the King. After a brief show of resistance, however, they were forced by Cromwell's captains to recognise the authority of Parliament. But the colonies were still so far away that these changes in England, merely as such, really affected them very little. It was in another way that the struggles in England, and the alternate dominion of each party, made such a difference to them. For when once the soil of New England had been broken, as we have described, by groups of religious zealots, the colony provided a haven throughout the reign of Charles I for numbers of serious-minded men who disapproved of what seemed to them the frivolity of the times; the ritual of the Church of England savouring to them of Popery, which to Englishmen of that day meant Spain, with her attempts to enslave Great Britain, her horrible cruelty to Protestants, and the dreadful torture halls of her Inquisition. Many, therefore, of what were vaguely termed Puritans had emigrated to what was eminently the Puritan colony, men often of good education and good family. Some of them returned during the ascendancy of the Commonwealth. But when Charles II came to the throne and the people of England, by this time wearied of the gloomy, repressive period of Puritan government, gave way with relief to all the joyousness and laxity of former days, there was another small migration of Puritans to New England. Some of them honestly abhorred this return of the land to what they considered godlessness, while some who had been

THE NORTH AMERICAN COLONIES



NEW YORK IN 1758

forward in oppressing their Royalist neighbours during the rule of the Commonwealth left the country free from dread of retaliation.

All these, then, were the people who founded and whose descendants, rapidly multiplying, populated the New England provinces of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, that, with the later ones of New Hampshire, Vermont, and Maine, are often to this day in America called the Puritan States, of which Boston is far the greatest city. The climate was much harder and the land generally less fertile than in the south, but the colonists and their descendants, man for man, were far more industrious, thrifty, and better educated than those in the warmer provinces. The very discipline of their gloomy religious views made them successful workers. The almost complete interdiction of amusements turned their minds to hard bargaining, as others are turned for recreation to games or sports. But this is the less agreeable side of New England, though till about the end of the seventeenth century, industrious and prosperous as it was, it must have been, according to our ideas, a singularly disagreeable place of residence. But later on, when the population increased and spread out more, when towns and seaports sprang up, and a sea-going trade with Europe was established, this narrow bigotry declined, and even the Church of England in time took root and prospered modestly in the towns side by side with the Independent Churches that had hitherto been supreme.

The Universities of Harvard and Yale, now so famous, were founded when the primitive and struggling days were left behind and society divided itself more into grades. There were few really poor or ignorant people like the lower class in the South. The plainer folk owned small farms, worked as woodsmen, kept shops, or went to sea. The upper sort were lawyers, merchants, clergymen, or shipowners, who lived in the towns much as prosperous Englishmen of the same sort lived in the English country towns, though the Puritan stamp remained strongly marked among them, as it does even yet, though in a greatly modified degree. The

intolerance of all other opinion, even to the persecution of unfortunates holding different views, passed away. Writers and men of science arose whose names became known even in Europe, while New England was still a British possession. Each colony through all this time had its Parliament and its Governor, generally appointed by the Crown. Though the feeling of New England towards the Mother Country was never warm, prosperity, increasing population and a big sea-borne trade that leaned for protection upon Great Britain and dealt with her, brought about a better understanding than that which existed in the early days of isolation and religious fanaticism.

And now for a word as to the effect of the Civil War on Virginia, which upon the whole was greater than on the northern provinces. There was a small Commonwealth party even here, though not necessarily Puritanical in religion, and there was a little fighting, but the general spirit of the colony was Loyalist and Church of England. Maryland had been carved out of the Virginia Company's territory twenty years before the Civil War, and colonised by Lord Baltimore, a Catholic nobleman, its object being toleration to settlers of that religion who were not received in other colonies. But quite as many Protestant Churchmen went in there, and there was little sectarian friction. Maryland was so like Virginia in all ways and Carolina was so thinly settled and not yet even organised into a province, that Virginia may fairly stand for all the southern colonies at this early period.

Now, when the Civil War was over and the defeated Cavaliers had to submit to the rule of the Commonwealth, many of them naturally turned their thoughts towards the colonies, and Virginia, whose people were mostly of their political opinions, became a favourite resort. Numbers of persons, too, of all classes who had fought on the losing side had lost by that means their fortunes or their situations, and looked to a new country for a fresh start in life. Thousands of these men went to Virginia during the Commonwealth period, to the considerable

increase of the population, and a great many had sufficient money left to buy land, which was abundant and cheap. A few returned to England at the Restoration, but most of them stayed in Virginia or Maryland or spread southward into the new district of the Carolinas, then being opened out. Hence Virginia and her neighbours are called the Cavalier colonies, just as New England is still more intimately associated with the Puritans. The Carolinas were constituted a separate territory in 1664. Their first colonists were largely Virginians or New Englanders weary of the climate or the rigours of Puritan rule. English settlers from Barbadoes, our first West Indian colony, and French Protestants driven from their own country came here too, and later on the new region was subdivided into North and South Carolina—the former a rougher and inferior model of Virginia, growing tobacco and the same products; the latter spreading in time into large plantations of rice and indigo, and having for its capital Charlestown, the most important seaport of the southern colonies.

But it was not only that the people of the southern colonies were of the Royalist, easy-going, England loving description, while the New Englanders were vigorous, fanatical, and generally without affection for the Mother Country. Another vital influence begun to work in the seventeenth century which widened the gap more and more as time went on, and that was the introduction of negro slavery. Now in New England, as a general rule, the farmers with their families did all the work of their farms. The wealthy and more educated class carried on business or practised a profession in one or other of the numerous and prosperous towns. In the South there were few towns and no trade but the export of agricultural produce; the higher class as well as the rest being all farmers, or ‘planters,’ as they were called. Many of the estates were large; nearly all required some extra labour. The summers, too, were very hot, and white men not so ready for manual labour as in cooler New England. Moreover, tobacco, which was the chief crop, requires a great deal of labour, so

a large number of servants were sent out from England to supply this, some convicts, others freemen, who bound themselves to work for so many years in return for their passage. But this did not nearly suffice for the rapidly growing area of tobacco and maize fields. Negro slavery was in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries an established custom among the Spaniards and Portuguese in America. The English sailors, as already noted, did a great trade in carrying them from Africa. Few persons then thought of raising any serious objection either to the traffic in, or to the compulsory working of, the hapless African, so naturally Virginia and the southern colonies accepted them. Even the New Englanders had a few, but neither their climate nor their style of farming was favourable to slave labour. But in Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas, as in the West Indies, negro slavery became a permanent institution, and in time there were nearly as many African slaves as white people, and in some districts far more. If an apology had been considered necessary in those days, it would have been said, and truly, that slavery was universal in Africa where these negroes came from, and that their servile lot in America was far better than that endured under the masters of their own race from whom they had been snatched or purchased; moreover, that some at any rate were by these means converted to Christianity. But even apart from the question of its bearing on those subject to it, negro slavery is itself demoralising to any white community that makes use of it. There were plenty of noble men and women who owned slaves, but there were far more of a coarser sort whose natures and utility in life were injured by it. It encouraged indolence and also arrogance, and blunted the feelings of the whites. It was particularly bad for children and young people to grow up among dependants who had no sense of self-respect and were accustomed to put up with any temper or insolence from their owners, or worse still from their owners' children. In hot tropical or semi-tropical countries, like our West Indian Islands, of which I shall

speak later, or again like South Carolina, slave labour was at least profitable from an agricultural point of view. But in temperate countries, such as our old colonies of Maryland and Virginia, where white men could work out of doors and the land was never very rich, slavery in the long run proved ruinous to the soil through the careless, slovenly methods it encouraged. If an Englishman travels to-day along the country roads of New England or Pennsylvania, the fields on either side do not strike him as differing materially from those at home. But in most parts of Virginia or North Carolina he sees wasted, weedy, bushy, rain-torn fields that would grow practically nothing, covering more than half the country. This is the result of generations of slavery terminated fifty years ago in a country which was not suited for it, in that it could have done far better without it, though the early colonists had, of course, great temptations to purchase the continual shipload pressed upon them by the traders.

In spite of slavery, however, existence in these southern colonies was in some ways more like rural life in the Mother Country than was that of frugal, industrious New England. There were great numbers of what we should call gentlemen farmers, sufficiently well educated, with roomy houses and plenty of slaves, leading pleasant lives, given over to rural business and field sports. From these came the officers of the militia, the magistrates, the members of the Governor's Council or Upper House, and the burgesses for their county in the Elective Assembly of the Province. A Royal Governor from England held his little court at the capital of the colony where its Parliament assembled, and the High Courts of Justice administered the laws of England. Then again, besides this quasi-aristocracy, there were a still larger number of plain farmers owning smaller estates and fewer slaves. Below these again were the indentured white servants shipped out from England or those who had worked out their freedom, and other poor men of that description. Though the Church of England was established, and for a long time other sects frowned upon, gradually during the

eighteenth century Baptists, Wesleyans, and other Non-conformists built churches and became quite numerous.



GEORGE II

There were very few educational facilities and no newspapers. The richer people sent their sons to England or kept indifferent tutors. The rest and middling folk were more intelligent than educated, though all in a limited sense were keen politicians. They liked the Mother Country well

enough, though very few of them ever saw it, but they were acutely jealous of their rights being infringed upon, and the Royal Governor, who depended for his salary on a vote of their Legislature, had nearly always a very bad time of it indeed. For, on any attempt to intervene on behalf of the Crown, which was sometimes very necessary, the Lower House would refuse to vote his salary and place the unfortunate Viceroy in the most embarrassing situation.

Such, broadly speaking, were the four southern colonies of Virginia, Maryland, and the two Carolinas. South Carolina diverged somewhat from the others as time went on. Her white population was smaller and a few became much richer than their contemporaries elsewhere, the higher class being merchant-planters, who lived chiefly in Charlestown and sometimes part of the year in England and kept overseers on their indigo and rice plantations. They were, in short, more men of the world, like the West Indian planters, keeping up the same measure of intercourse with the Mother Country. The homes of the Virginians, on the other hand, were on isolated estates along the banks of the many navigable rivers that ran far inland. A small ship from England came once a year up to their doors, bringing clothes, furniture, crockery, and a few luxuries, for nothing was manufactured in the southern colonies, and returned with the year's crop of tobacco. One ship thus served several plantations; it also brought their letters and their news of Europe. This was about all that most Virginians had personally to do with the Mother Country or with Englishmen. Aristocratic notions, however, grew up among their larger landowners, made possible by negro slavery and the want of education among the masses of the white population. New England was truly democratic, and every freeman had a voice or a vote in the government of his town or district, but there every man had a good plain education. Virginia and the southern colonies were, to be sure, nominally democratic, but among a widely scattered population, where wealth is unevenly distributed, and education the privilege only of the few, the class who possess these last advantages are very apt to

monopolise all power. The southern gentry had to use their position with tact, for they had no tithantry, as in England, and none of the traditional titles to recognition and outward deference from white inferiors in station that the English landed gentry had. They were gentlemen farmers rather, and had to maintain their position over the larger class of



WILLIAM PENN

rough, ill-educated lesser farmers, who also owned land and very often slaves, by their superior means and advantages, without openly regarding them as inferiors. This, however, they accomplished more or less successfully in every southern province, and a sort of aristocracy flourished in varying degree, all through our old colonies.

•Even in New England the families of higher education, more money, and consequently more refinement of life, became later on the leaders of the country and gradually formed a separate class in private life. But the New England colonial

aristocracy, as I have said, was in the towns. In the South it was to landed estates and country life that they owed their position. Some had been members of good families in England who had originally purchased large tracts of cheap forest land, others were from humble forbears in the Mother Country, who had risen through character and energy to good estate and position. I have dwelt at some length upon this subject because the whole future of North America, till the great Civil War in the United States of 1861-1865, was influenced by the divergent interests and sympathies of these two types of Anglo-Americans. The one, farmers and planters in a warm climate, slave owners, easy-going, genial, ill educated as a mass, manufacturing nothing, and with few commercial instincts. The other, hard-headed, keen traders, mechanics, and sailors, and as a whole well educated. All of the same British origin, they developed into two widely differing peoples, speaking English to this day with a quite different accent, and using words and idioms as removed from each other as are those of the Kentish and Cornish vernacular respectively. The Devonshire lead in colonisation of which one hears so much was only concerned with the Elizabethan sea rovers and the Newfoundland fisheries. Virginia was colonised by people from all over England, while New England was chiefly settled from the eastern counties, where Puritan doctrines were strongest.

But I have said nothing yet about the two great provinces dividing these sections from one another, which were founded a little later and are now, as American States, the richest and most powerful of all the thirteen original colonies that revolted from our rule in 1776. These are Pennsylvania and New York. The latter, then New Amsterdam, was given up to us without a struggle by Holland in 1664. The Dutch settlers, mostly gathered on the Hudson River, were in truth not greatly disturbed at the transfer. They had been ruled severely by Holland, whose people, though forward in acquiring oversea possessions and the successful prosecution of trade, were not as successful in their

relationship to oversea communities of their own people as were the English. Settlers from New England and elsewhere went into the new colony, and it received self-government upon the same pattern as the rest. Its chief town, New York, now one of the world's greatest cities, had grown to be one of the most important in English America even before the revolt of the colonies.

The New Netherlands were not seized by the English without excuse, for the Dutch were our great colonising and maritime rivals in the seventeenth century, such as the French became in the next one, so we were frequently at war with them; and, furthermore, we claimed the Hudson river, where their settlements lay, on the strength of its original discovery by Henry Hudson, an English navigator, in 1609. A Swedish settlement was here, too, when we took over the country, and, by doing so, completed a solid English occupation of the Atlantic coast and its immediate back country, the whole way from Canada to Florida.

The province of New York, renamed after James II, on whom his royal brother bestowed it, consisted then of Dutch, a few Swedes, numerous settlers from New England, with a small but continuous influx through its busy seaport city from Old England and elsewhere. Its character was mixed, and there were estates and farms of all sizes scattered over its large area. There were a few large Dutch land-owners of aristocratic flavour known as 'patroons,' who had received extensive grants and certain manorial rights on condition of settling them with European tenants. There were practical New England farmers working their own land, and, indeed, people of all sorts and conditions. But land did not take such a lead as in the South, for a busy commerce went on at New York; while at Albany, up the Hudson, which remained its chief Dutch *entrepôt*, the fur trade with the Indian back country represented a great industry. English and Dutch got on quite well together, and in time almost merged into one. The Church of England, as everywhere outside New England, was established after a fashion; but there was no intolerance. Each group in the colony

followed its own taste in all things. As a province there was none of the bigotry and narrow prejudice that made the people of New England half afraid of one another, if they were afraid of nothing else; nor was there the same hard striving after certain ideals that gave the New Englanders success and a foremost place in all branches of industry, in spite of an inferior soil and severe climate. New York, in short, conducted itself on ordinary, sensible, give-and-take lines. Negro slavery was legal everywhere at that time; but, as in New England and for the same reason, the New Yorkers did not greatly utilise this form of labour.

A little later the rest of the Dutch territory south of the Hudson river was made into another self-governing province, which afterwards became New Jersey. It so closely resembled New York in its population and characteristics as not to justify any further mention here. But there was still an interval of unsettled country between these territories and Maryland, the nearest of the southern provinces, and of this, in 1681, the famous Quaker William Penn acquired a grant, and founded what in a very short time became the great colony, and afterwards the still greater American State, of Pennsylvania. Not only Quakers were to be tolerated within its hospitable borders, but persons of every creed.

Philadelphia was the port and capital from which the colony spread inland; for, like most of the other provinces, this one had an almost boundless back country into which civilisation steadily pushed its way from the sea coast. Long before 1700 immigrants from Europe had ceased to come in large numbers to the American colonies, the increase of population being due mainly to their own stocks, but there was a great rush into Pennsylvania, not only of Quakers and others from Great Britain, but North Irish Protestants and Germans, with other Europeans of sober, industrious habits, came there in great numbers. William Penn devoted himself to his new province, and it went ahead at a rate that no other North American colony had ever equalled. The shrewd, sedate Quaker influence in com-

merce, coupled with the plodding industry of the German and Ulster immigrants, gave it a character of its own, and added another to the curiously divergent types of English colony that now formed a connected chain down the whole coast line. Negro slavery was discouraged in Pennsylvania. The yeoman or peasant farmer doing his own work was the agricultural mainstay of the country. Small manufactures arose as they had done in New England, and Philadelphia, at the outbreak of the revolutionary war, was larger, handsomer, and richer than either Boston, New York, or Charlestown.

CHAPTER III

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

THE year 1754 is not a date that historians generally print in large type. But it is, nevertheless, among the most important in the world's history. For it was the moment when the representatives of France and England in North America, one might almost say by a simultaneous flash of inspiration, grasped the potent fact that one nation or the other must be supreme in that vast country. It was now, and by two small opposing companies of backwoods soldiers, in the heart of the wilderness, that the sword was drawn which was not to be sheathed till the momentous question was settled in a manner more complete than either nation dreamed of. One might well think that a region larger than Europe, and only settled along its seaboard fringes by a million or two British and 60,000 French subjects, could absorb two such handfuls into its vast heart without any clashing of interests. But it was not so, and even thus early it became apparent to far-seeing minds that there was not room for both, and that a duel to the death for the greatest prize that had ever then, or has ever since, been fought for was inevitable. The people of England and France neither knew nor cared very much about the matter. In 1754 they were enjoying a brief truce between those interminable wars in Europe, largely promoted by the mutual dislikes or ambitions of monarchs and their Ministers, and resulting in little more than the misery and death of countless thousands. The permanent results, at any rate, of all these tremendous battles and campaigns in Europe, which fill a large place in history, were almost

trifling compared with the result of the struggle that was to be fought out in the wild woods of America between 1754



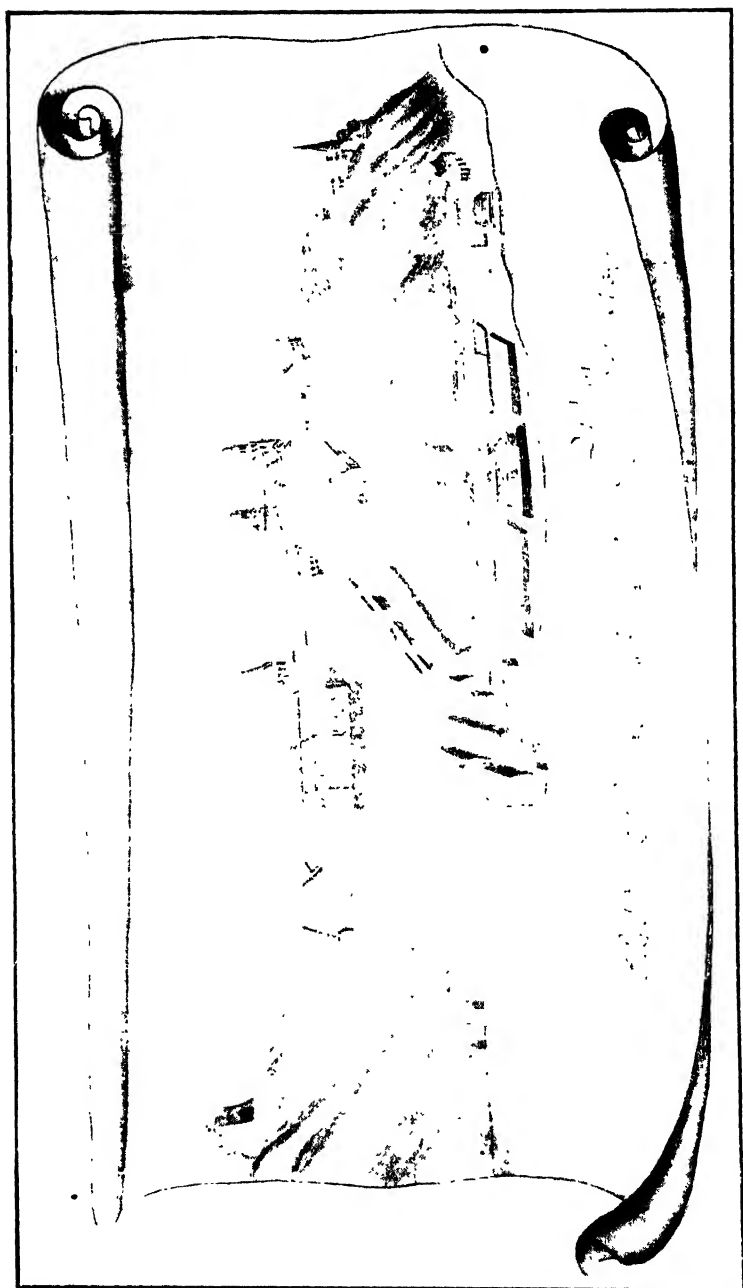
THE EARL OF CHATHAM

and 1761. It is quite true that neither English nor French in the mass fully realised all that they were fighting for, which was, in truth, nothing less than most of the vast

territory now covered by the United States and Canada ; since but a fraction of either was then inhabited, and the greater part but vaguely explored. Still, the magnitude of the stake was fairly well understood by some of the leading minds of both nations. The crisis, as so often happens when powerful countries are slicing up a new continent, came rather suddenly, and the way of it was this.

The reader will now, I trust, have in his mind a sufficiently lucid picture of the British colonies following one another all down the Atlantic coast. First, the Puritan group of New England ; then the middle colonies of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania ; and finally, the southern provinces of Maryland, Virginia, the two Carolinas, and the recently founded Georgia.

The French, with a single exception, to be mentioned presently, were entirely confined, as regards serious settlement, to Canada, or in other words to the banks of the St. Lawrence. Turning again to the map, it will be seen that the St. Lawrence, then, as now, more or less the boundary of Canada, runs north-east from south-west, thereby cutting off the back of the New England colonies, and that of New York, from any great westward expansion into the continent. The remainder of the colonies to the southward, it will be noticed, opened out into this back country. They had no specified western limits, but each vaguely claimed the trackless, Indian-haunted wilderness behind it. Now, running down the back of all these colonies, from Pennsylvania to South Carolina, was the wide, lofty and forest-clad range of the Alleghanies. Roughly speaking, the frontier settlements of the colonies in 1754 had just reached the base of this range, which lay at an average distance of some hundred and fifty miles from the sea coast. To use broad terms again, civilisation within this limit consisted of three belts. The most easterly was occupied by people leading easy lives in the homes their ancestors had made as comfortable and well established, for all practical purposes, as those in an old country. Behind these came another belt of settlers, some from Europe, but mostly from the old settlements, who were



gradually clearing the forests and making things comfortable for their children. Hindmost of all, thinly sprinkled in fortified hamlets, came a fringe of real backwoodsmen—hunters, trappers, squatters, adventurers and Indian fighters—who, among other things, bore the brunt of the occasional fury of the savages as they were pushed slowly but surely back out of their old hunting-grounds. At this time the Alleghany Mountains formed the natural barrier beyond which the farthest British settlement had not penetrated, nor even as yet thought seriously of penetrating. British America north of Pennsylvania had its natural limits, as I have shown, though far back ones, in Lakes Erie and Ontario, and a vague line south of the St. Lawrence, constituting the Canadian border. But to the southward a few thinking leaders in the colonies, and their English friends, had aspirations of a leisurely progress westward to a great continental future. For behind the Alleghanies lay the fertile Ohio valley, and farther down that of the great Mississippi. These vast areas, richer than those already settled, were well known to explorers and traders, French and English, particularly the former; but they were as yet rather beyond the scope of definite claim and action. The average colonist cast his eyes toward the Alleghanies, with more territory than he or his children could occupy, and engrossed in his own business affairs, thought little or nothing about this limitless western wilderness. But a few wise and far-sighted ones, and some English statesmen, already beheld in it a mighty future inheritance, while all regarded it as, in a measure, British territory, or, at least, as a sphere of future British settlement.

Suddenly, like a bolt from the blue, the French, who at that time were more adventurous explorers, and knew wilder America better than the more plodding, hard-working English, developed an ambitious scheme. This was no less than the erection of forts in the Ohio valley, where they already had trading settlements; a long chain of them, in short, reaching through the wilderness from Lake Erie to the Mississippi. By these means it was hoped to hem in

the British for ever within the narrow limits they now



LOUIS XV

occupied between the Alleghamies and the sea. In brief, British North America was to be effectually confined to those seaboard colonies of which it then consisted. There

was more even than this in the fateful scheme. For the French power, and perhaps a French colonial nation, was to be established all along the back of our colonies, whose inhabitants were some day, perhaps, to be even pushed back into the sea!

This project sounds nowadays like a wild dream; but it seemed then nothing like so visionary, and caused no little consternation among those few in England and America who understood the matter, and recognised the crisis. Unfortunately, the average colonist, as I have said, had no such forethought. The country was so vast, and his own interests were so circumscribed, that he could with difficulty be induced to trouble his head about contingencies that seemed to him remote. The French, however, were different, or rather the powers that guided their interests were more determined and for the moment more statesmanlike. In their system and in their colonists, few as they were, the King's representative in Canada had a formidable weapon. We shall hear more of the early settlement of that country in another chapter. It will be sufficient here that 'New France,' as it was often called, had been actually founded, with Quebec as its capital, about the same time as Virginia and New England. But it was organised and conducted on entirely different principles. Instead of being like the English colonies, the private venture of companies and individuals, with little help from the Government but charters allowing them to help themselves, Canada had been the particular care of the French King and his Ministers. It was governed upon strict paternal principles. The extension of the Roman Catholic Church and conversion of the Indians, together with the development of a great fur trade, had hitherto been its chief aims. The farming colonists of the seventeenth century were regarded rather as constituting a support towards these ends than as carving out a new country for the occupation of an overflowing French population. The settlers, respectable peasants of both sexes, had been sent out in batches by the French Government till about 1670, after which

there was scarcely any further movement from France to Canada, and practically all the French Canadians of to-day



FALLS OF MONTMORENCY, QUEBEC

are their descendants. But the early French Canadians had no self-government. They were settled as vassals or tenants on large tracts of forest land granted in quasi-feudal

fashion to gentlemen, retired officers, and such-like, who were accounted a *noblesse* or aristocracy, with particular privileges. The tenants could neither leave nor be turned out of their farms, which, clearing by degrees, they occupied from generation to generation. Rents were trifling; their landlords, or seigneurs, were quite poor, but they were proud, adventurous, warlike men, and led the peasantry, who were trained to arms, in frequent wars against the Indians, and in occasional frontier raids against their neighbours the New Englanders. Neither the seigneurs, however, nor the peasants had any voice in the government of the country. The King's Viceroy and the Bishop, under instructions from France, governed absolutely. For the Roman Church was rigidly established and no Protestant was even admitted to the colony.

Besides these farming peasants, there was a further element, who followed the adventurous career of the fur trade, which was a monopoly of the Crown and of a great company, into distant wilds. Compared with their British neighbours, the Canadians were non-progressive, and the education of the common people was discouraged. But the French Jesuit missionaries and explorers had pushed their trading or mission stations even to the remote north-west as far as what is now Manitoba and all down the wilderness drained by the Ohio and the Mississippi behind the British colonies. The French, too, were more popular than our people with the Indians. When among them they adopted their customs and often took Indian wives. Nor did they go into the wilderness as agriculturists, and consequently as destroyers of the hunting-grounds on which the red man subsisted, like the English, who pressed their farms and settlements, which the Indian loathed, slowly and surely onwards. This, broadly speaking, is how matters stood at the period in question.

The French authorities, then, had by now fully and secretly made up their minds to get in behind the English, busy and unsuspecting in their seaboard provinces, and grasp dominion over all that was known and unknown of the

North American hinterland. They were also influenced



by a dread that if they did not set bounds to the expansion of their rivals, their own valuable fur trade and influence with

the Indians would be gradually destroyed. The English colonies were immeasurably richer and more progressive than Canada, and one might well think that a struggle between a very poor population of 60,000 and a much richer one of nearly a million and a half was absurd. But save in numbers Canada had extraordinary advantages. Her manhood were martial, and almost to a man irregular soldiers. Her Government was absolute, and when it gave the word to march every Canadian picked up his weapons and fell into line with dispatch, if not always with good will. Moreover, the King of France had several regiments stationed in Canada, while in all the British colonies there were scarcely any regular soldiers. Nor did these colonies, with the exception of the New England group, know anything at all of one another, and they cared less. They had all been founded separately at different times, and by various men and methods, from the Mother Country. Some of them were, geographically, the size of England, and the great distances in this still semi-wild country made free intercourse between them almost impossible. Men stayed at home for the most part all their lives on their farms and plantations, rarely going farther afield than to the little capital of their colony if they chanced to have a seat in the Legislature. A Virginian, for instance, with rare exceptions, knew scarcely more about the people of Pennsylvania or South Carolina than did an Englishman.

There had been very little emigration to the colonies from Great Britain since the preceding century, and the increase in population, though great, was chiefly from within. A great many Protestant Irish and Germans, however, had recently come over. The descendants of the Scottish Presbyterian settlers who had helped to colonise Ulster in the seventeenth century had been treated with short-sighted folly both by their Government and their landlords, and in twenty years a hundred thousand of them left Ireland in disgust, and settled mostly in the wilderness at the back of the middle and southern colonies, along the slopes of the Alleghany Mountains, and led isolated lives upon the Indian

frontier. They were a prodigious loss to Ireland, and proved a great gain to America. •

The four New England colonies, being smaller in area, near together, and occupied by people of the same kind and stamp, were not so detached. They were accustomed, moreover, to act together in war, and had always been face to face with the French upon their borders; while as



RUIN OF FORTIFIED FRENCH CHATEAU (DATE 1690), NEAR MONTREAL

communities they were more organised and businesslike than the rest. The New Englanders alone had done any soldiering to speak of. They had a regular militia, and had often put considerable forces in the field. The rest of the colonies were utterly unmartial. An occasional Indian war, mainly waged by the rude frontiersmen as chiefly affected by it, but who would rarely leave home to fight elsewhere, was almost their sole experience. The hardy, martial French Canadians, Colonial regulars and militia, backed as they would be by French regiments and swarms of well-armed Indian warriors, had such provinces,

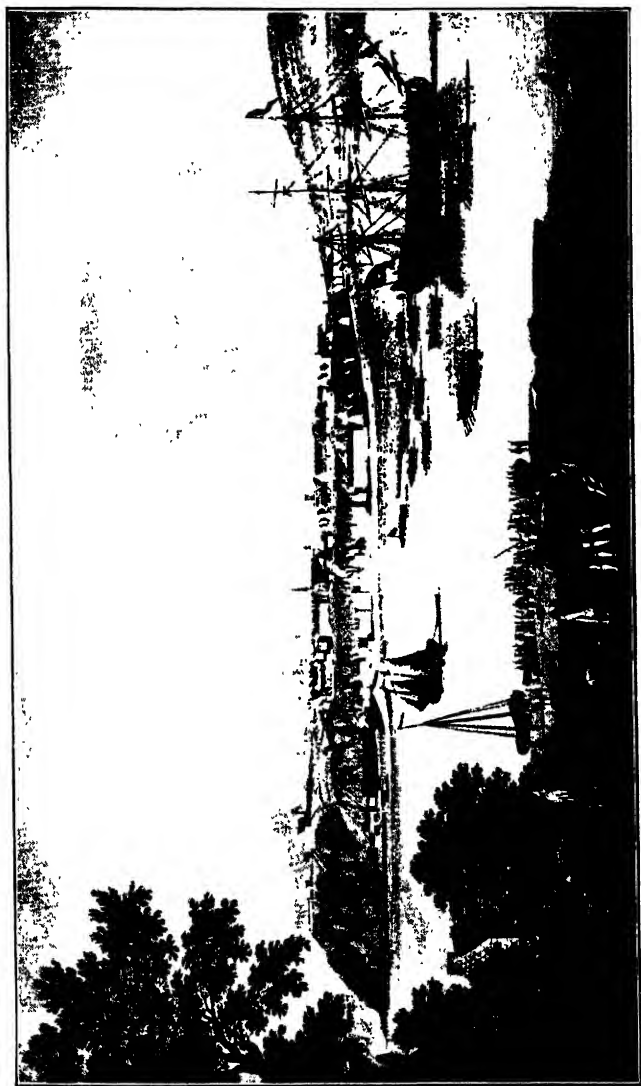
populous though they were, almost at their mercy if dis-united, and they knew it.

For our colonies were too jealous of one another to form a military combination, and too sluggish and blind to the threatening circumstances of the moment even to raise troops independently. When the French peril showed itself to English statesmen and the leading minds in the colonies, efforts were made to unite these people in some scheme of military defence. The attempt proved quite hopeless; some of the provinces failed even to send a representative to the conferences called for the purpose. New England could be relied on, though she alone was not directly threatened by a chain of forts barring her westward progress, like the middle and southern colonies. Pennsylvania was led by wealthy Quakers, to whom all thought of war, even for necessary defence, was odious, and they would not vote a man. New Jersey, also controlled largely by Quakers, was nearly as hopeless. Virginia, the wealthiest and at the same time most in danger of all, raised a miserable little company or two. Maryland acted, or rather failed to act, in even more fatuous fashion.

Indeed the colonists from their isolation had almost lost the sense of imperial patriotism, and were apt to regard themselves merely as Virginians or Marylanders. Put far worse than this, they could not be induced to recognise, so cramped were their interests, the actual peril to which they were so indolently baring their breasts, the settlement, that is, of a martial people, aggressive Roman Catholics, and subjects of an ambitious, warlike and hostile monarchy upon their very flanks. These colonists were capable, business-like people enough in their own narrow concerns, but appeared absolutely incapable of seeing an inch beyond them, and so things drifted perilously on.

France and England were still at peace. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle a few years previously had ended the last war, but in such half-hearted fashion that it was felt by all to be only a truce. Oversea quarrels, moreover, in those days by no means of necessity meant European war and France

was not quite ready. Virginia was here chiefly concerned.



QUEBEC FROM POINT LEVIS, 1758

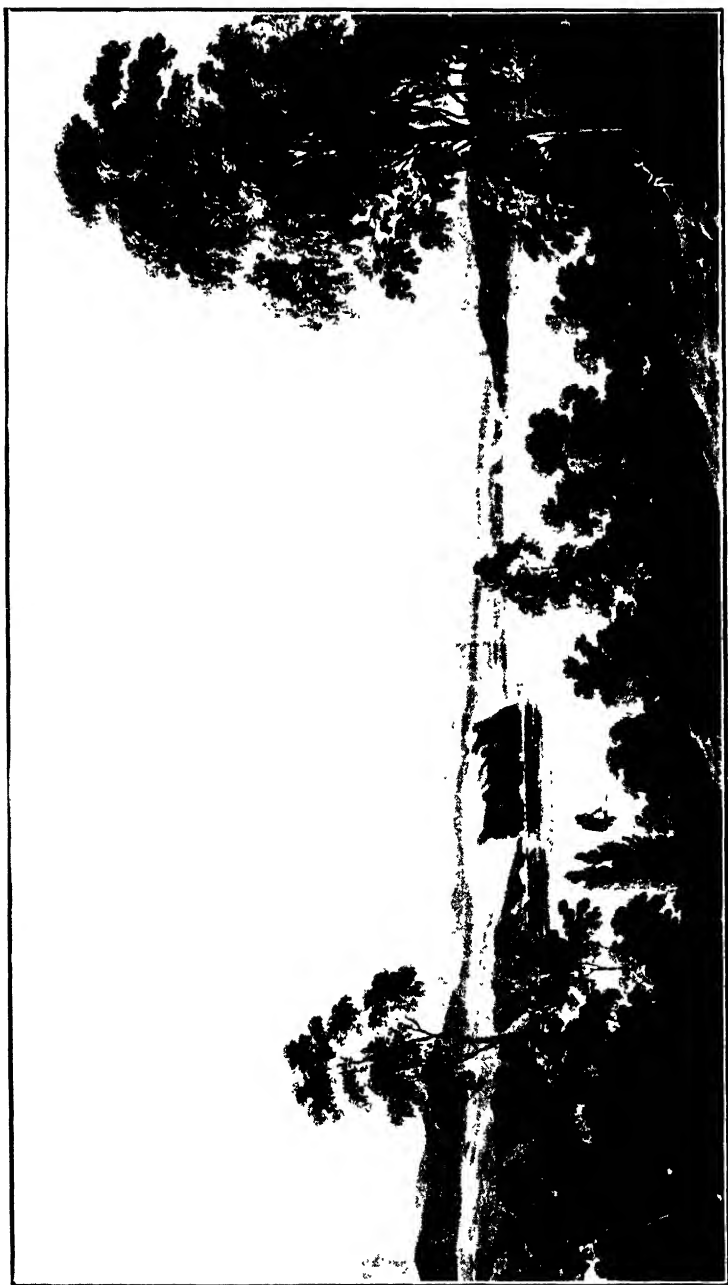
So, under pressure from an energetic governor, Dinwiddie, a handful of Virginians, led by the famous George Washington,

then a young major of militia, was sent against the most important of the new French forts. There was a trifling skirmish, only important as sounding the first note of a war that determined the future of North America, that made the Anglo-Saxon not the Latin race supreme in it, and that ultimately drove the French from the continent. The contemptuous defiance of the French, the defeat and capture of the little Virginian force on territory regarded as British, gave the colonists something to think about, and the Frenchman ceased to be a quite imaginary bogey conjured up by governors and other tiresome people to worry them into voting men, when none wished to go, and money that they always bitterly grudged for any public object. Still, for their size and strength, almost nothing was done even then by the colonies chiefly threatened. New England, indeed, alone, though removed from immediate danger and not threatened in territory, did its duty throughout the six years of heavy fighting that was to come. New York was a little better than the rest, who practically left it to the soldiers and the taxpayers of the Mother Country to pull them through. In the next year, 1755, though war was not yet declared, two regiments were sent out from England to test the situation and drive the French from Fort Duquesne, their chief point of defiance and occupation in the Ohio valley. The little force encamped near the spot where the city of Washington now stands, and under General Braddock marched at midsummer, in company with a small force of colonial irregulars, for a hundred and fifty miles through the forest wilderness against the new French fort. This is of further interest as the first expeditionary force ever sent by Great Britain through a distant wilderness in a remote country. It is enough to say that they were ambushed by a small force of French and Indians, mainly the latter, and cut to pieces. Brave as was the British soldier, this backwoods fighting was a terrible novelty. Out of 1500 men less than half straggled back, a panic-stricken mob, to Virginia, with the Indians' war-whoop ringing in their ears—leaving, among the rest, their general, hastily buried on the retreat, and the corpses of forty

other officers and hundreds of men to be devoured by wolves. The news of the disaster caused an immense sensation throughout the colonies and in western Europe, and is known in history as 'Braddock's defeat.' Thackeray in his great novel 'The Virginians' has told the story in dramatic, though not quite accurate, fashion, and made it familiar to thousands of a later generation.

In the following year, 1756, war was formally declared between England and France. Montcalm, an able French general, was sent out with reinforcements to Canada, and British troops, for the first time in any serious numbers, landed on North American soil. The New England colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut under Governor Shirley, the most active Imperialist in America, girded their loins and put several thousand men into the field; while hordes of Indians, led or inspired by Frenchmen, burst on the unprotected frontier of the middle colonies with torch and tomahawk. Thousands of frontier settlers, flying from burning homesteads and murdered relatives to the older planted, comfortable regions, at last awoke their people to what the French danger they had affected to believe was imaginary really meant. But even then the middle and southern colonies, for all their comparative wealth and population, gave but trifling aid in men and money, though upon the result of the war hung their whole future—perhaps even their very existence.

Pennsylvania, containing the finest and wealthiest city in North America, for a long time would not vote a man or a dollar. New York and the Jerseys did better, but New England did better still. Her greatest province, Massachusetts, about equal in wealth and population to Virginia, had at one period of the war nearly 10,000 men in the field, while Virginia put little more than a thousand. She and some other colonies behaved almost as if it were no business of theirs, but solely that of the British army. The conflict was vital enough to be sure to Great Britain, but it was still more so to her American colonies on whose behalf it was in great part waged, and most of all to those particular



provinces—Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas—who displayed such culpable indifference.

France, represented in Canada by Montcalm with several French regiments, the colonial regulars and the whole able-bodied manhood as irregular troops on the one hand, and England, represented by Lord Loudoun, with 10,000 British troops and the colonial forces on the other, now faced each other, for a conflict that was to settle the weightiest issue that Englishmen or Frenchmen have ever fought for. In the previous year, 1755, that of Braddock's defeat, two considerable bodies of colonial troops, mainly New Englanders, under colonial leaders, had operated, with tolerable success for irregulars, against the French: the one on Lake George under the famous Anglo-Irish gentleman and backwoodsman, William Johnson, who there won a baronetcy; the other a more distinctly negative campaign to Oswego, a frontier British fort on Lake Ontario.

France, as I have said, cherished dreams at this time of a great transatlantic empire, covering a large part of North America: noble and worthy dreams enough, carefully thought out and planned by some of her then leaders. She had both the courage, the means and the devotion to carry them out. She was then far more populous than England, had many times the number of soldiers, and was occasionally as strong even on the sea. Our own colonies had been extraordinarily prosperous, but, as we have seen, they had grown up at haphazard to an intense individualism, union for any purpose having proved impossible. Most of them hated soldiering and the military French Canadians held them lightly.

When they did at length vote troops, each colony watched jealously lest it should furnish a man or a dollar more than its neighbour; and in the middle of a campaign there was always the possibility of a provincial Government retailing its forces for some vexatious reason of this kind. For each one was virtually governed by an Assembly, or House of Commons, elected by the people, who alone could vote the money for military enterprises. It would not

therefore have been so difficult as it might at first



appear to a modern reader for a great military power like France, with the warlike colony of Canada as its base, to establish posts in increasing numbers and strength and get

behind so helpless a string of disunited provinces and thus hem them in. With the aid of the Indians, who much preferred the French, the latter might consolidate steadily if slowly a dominion fatal to the expansion and dangerous even to the existence of the English colonies. There were obviously weak points in the French colonial methods. Still they had methods and were quite capable of a great colonial scheme. The English, with all their success as individual colonists, had no methods. They consisted of mere groups, each insisting on doing exactly as it pleased, while every free white man in each group was more jealous of the liberty to do precisely as he liked than even a modern Englishman. This was all very well so long as no outsider molested them, but in the face of an attack by a powerful foe such complacency would have spelled ruin.

If the French had acted more circumspectly it is probable that this self-satisfied independence and egotistic individualism would have brought disaster on our colonies. But the French made more than one great mistake so far as their colonial policy was concerned, and chief of all in the refusal of hospitality in Canada to their own Protestants. There were no more vigorous and industrious people in the world than the persecuted French Huguenots, who were driven in thousands during this great era of colonial expansion, to be a source of strength to other countries, particularly England and even her colonies, for numbers had gone to South Carolina and elsewhere. But the French, as well as the French Canadian rulers, were such intolerant Romanists that they refused admission into Canada of a single 'heretic'. Had they welcomed them, and above all permitted them to flock into the Ohio valley behind the English colonies—for the Huguenots loved France in spite of the way she had treated them—it is quite possible that the French race and tongue might be dominant in North America to-day. There were French Catholics who saw and lamented this suicidal policy. But they were as voices crying in the wilderness. It must be told, too, how France had already a settlement at New Orleans, and how the line of forts which they were

establishing from Canada down the Ohio to the Mississippi was to be met by another extending upwards from this same south-western province of Louisiana.



The English generals, in 1756, had two main objects: the one to cut this line of backwoods posts by seizing the strongest of them, Fort Duquesne, where Braddock had been defeated,

and where Pittsburg, the Birmingham of America, now stands ; the other to advance northward and attack Canada, which upon the east was defended by the fortress and city of Quebec, and on the west by Montreal.

The great river St. Lawrence formed, speaking broadly, though not quite literally, the frontier, as farther west did the two great lakes of Ontario and Erie from which the St. Lawrence issued. This seemed to the British Government, who had no immediate thoughts of depriving the French of Canada, its natural boundary. But the wilderness south of these lakes was to be cleared of Frenchmen and of French forts. Between the two lakes, close to the Falls of Niagara and again at the western end of Lake Erie, were two strong wilderness posts of the French for controlling the fur trade. There was no objection to them as such, since they stood upon recognised French territory, so far as anything was defined in this wild west, but they were also used as depôts for pushing men and supplies southward along the line of the new forts so ominous to the British.

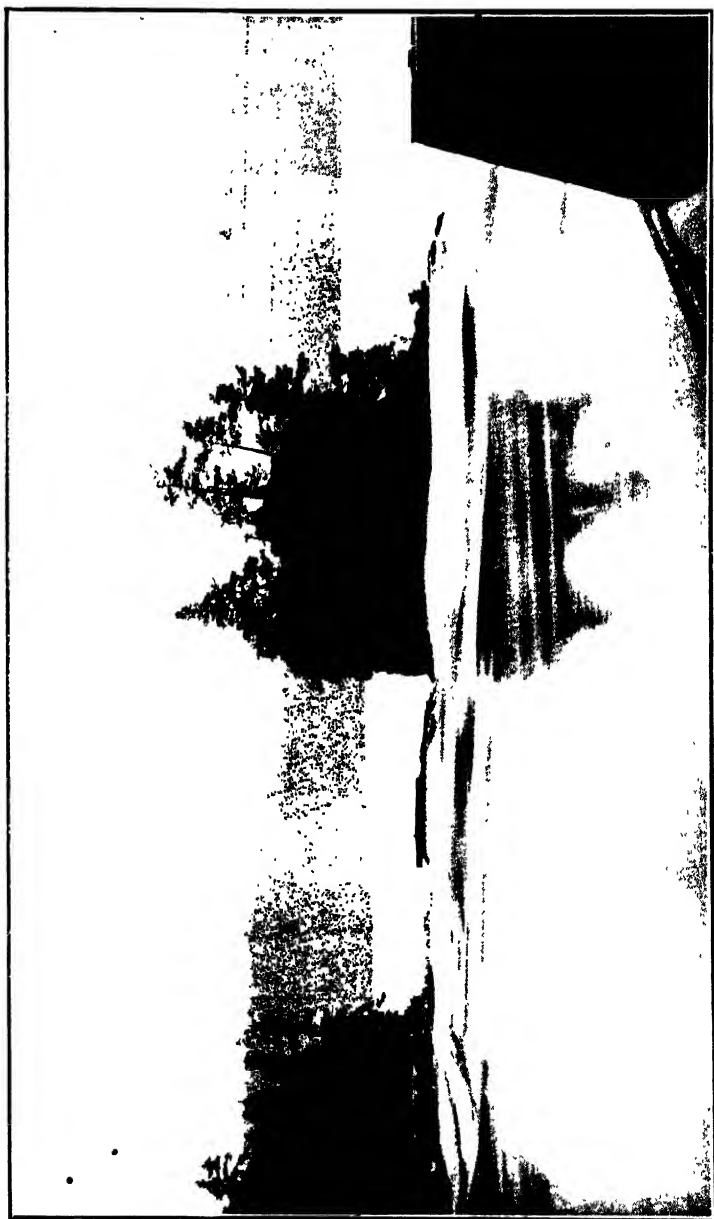
Fort Niagara therefore in the far west, Montreal in the middle, and Quebec on the east, were the three chief points of attack which the British organisers of the war had in their minds. Quebec was the most important, as it was in the heart of the Canadian settlements, the chief seat of the French power, and commanded the narrow entrance where the St. Lawrence ceases to be merely a great river and broadens out into an estuary. But Quebec could only be attacked with the help of a fleet and did not strictly belong to the land operations of the war.

Between the British colonies and Canada lay a vast unsettled, often mountainous, wilderness of forest, lake, and river, penetrated by only two routes up which an army could possibly be moved. The most direct and important of these two lay almost as straight as a ruled line northward to Montreal from New York, which place was also handy for landing troops from England. A glance at the map will show how the Hudson river forms the first long stage of this artery, to a point above Albany, at that time an

important frontier trading town. Where the river swerves to the west a road was cut across the intervening ten miles of land to the head of Lake George, which, in its turn, continues to run a narrow, northerly course between high, shaggy mountains, succeeded, with only a three-mile 'carry,' by the still larger Lake Champlain. This great sheet of water proceeds yet northward for sixty miles to the Canadian border, and from its foot the Richelieu river, navigable for large boats, flows on to its junction with the St. Lawrence near Montreal. To the eastward of this route lay the back settlements of the New England colonies; to the west and south of it, and as a base for all operations, was the colony of New York. So Albany, being a hundred miles up the Hudson and at the edge of the wilderness, was the natural base and starting-point for all these expeditions. There was only the ten-mile strip of land traffic between the Hudson and Lake George, and three more between that and Lake Champlain to be surmounted. All the rest could be accomplished in large boats made for the purpose.

But the French regarded this as a line of attack on our colonies, just as the British regarded it as a path to the invasion of Canada. There were one or two other routes, particularly one up the Mohawk to Fort Oswego on Lake Ontario, over which smaller forces, sufficient to annoy their opponent's territory, could move; but this was the only one along which a serious army of invasion could then readily travel either way between Canada and the heart of the British colonies.

But now a British army had arrived in America the French with their present forces could scarcely hope to seriously invade our colonies, and devoted most of their energies to defending this passage at various points against the British endeavour to press through it to Canada. This they succeeded in doing for four years, fighting up and down it, from 1755 to 1758, when, aided by a fleet, Wolfe scaled the cliffs above Quebec and won the famous victory on the Plains of Abraham, which cost the young hero his life and virtually won Canada. For when the capital of



THE GREAT ROCK OF BRITAIN

the colony, the 'Key of Canada,' was in British hands the brief further resistance of the French, gallant though it was, was hopeless. But before that famous victory there were four weary years of war, the largest and most important operations of which consisted in the two hostile forces pushing each other with many bloody battles backwards and forwards up and down this long wilderness artery. The foot of Lake Champlain, not the neighbouring St. Lawrence, was then as now, the actual frontier of Canada; but the French had built forts at the southern or British end of the last-named lake.

Campaigning in that country was only possible between May and November lake, forest, and mountain being hard bound in winter with ice and snow and impassable during the melting season; so every autumn the two armies marched back to their respective colonies, leaving trifling garrisons in the forts behind them, to return in early summer and begin the labour all over again. In 1758 the British had as many as 20,000 soldiers in camp, regulars and colonials; while the French had never much more than half that number on the lakes. It must be admitted, however, that the latter had something the best of it. For the British failed to break through their forts, while the French captured the principal British stronghold, Fort William Henry, though it was soon recovered; and as the chief object of the enemy was to defend their country, while ours was to get into it, the fact of the British having made no progress after three years of fighting was equivalent to defeat. The French, however, had some great advantages. To begin with, they had skilful generals like Montcalm and Levis, while the British had very indifferent ones in Lord Loudon and General Abercromby. The French forces, too, were all at the absolute disposal of their chiefs; the regulars were picked troops, the colonial regulars were used to bush warfare, and the militia were natural bush fighters. The chief French difficulty was the commissariat. The wretched agriculture of French Canada could barely feed the colony

at any time, much less in war when the men were at the front and extra forces had to be maintained. Moreover



GENERAL MONKTON

British sea-power was now beginning to tell, and supplies from France could not easily get in.

The British regulars were good enough, though without, as yet, much experience in such novel warfare, and they included some regiments of Highlanders, now being used

for the first time. As for the colonial corps, mainly from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York, they had the average courage of sturdy countrymen of British blood, but little discipline and small respect for their officers, whom they elected themselves. They were mostly farmers, mechanics, and tradesmen from the old settlements, not true backwoodsmen and crack shots like those small companies of rangers, selected from their body, who performed deeds of daring and endurance that read like fairy-tales. But of the ordinary colonial corps most of the members went back to their homes in the winter and had to be freshly enrolled each spring. What chiefly tried the patience of the French generals was the dilettomness with which the fresh levies came into camp, when time in that short season and difficult country was everything. It must not be thought, however, that this was a dull or uneventful war; on the contrary, it was full of dramatic episodes and it was an beautiful one, this one surely was so, waged amid the most splendid scenes of primeval nature, upon great lakes fed by rapid tumbling streams, sprinkled with woody islets, and overlame by mountains all aflame in autumn with the gorgeous colouring of the American foliage. In those days, too, the poor soldier did not wage war, even in the wilderness, comfortably clad in loose, easy, dull-coloured clothes, but he and his officers trod the forest, or piloted the boats on these wild waterways, in all the stiff discomfort of stock, scarlet coats and pipeclayed belts, of mitre-shaped shako and greased pigtail, of white breeches and long black thigh leggings, and with bayonets ever ready to fix. The officers were in their lace and gold, the Highlander rampant in tartan—a strange contrast to the sneaky colonial rangers in coon-skin caps with the tails hanging, moccasin shoes of deer-skin, fringed leather hunting shirts and belts decorated with Indian scalps. On the other side were the white-coated infantry of France, led by the young noblesse who had ruffled it at the brilliant Court of Louis XV, and the blue-coated colonial regulars, with the hardy Canadian militia in long homespun tunics tied at the waist with a red

sash. And on both sides stalked the Indian, smeared to the eyes in full war paint and beetleathered crest, and armed like the ranger with long-barrelled rifle, tomahawk, and scalping knife.



The greatest battle of these campaigns, and withal disastrous to the British arms, was the attack on the French at the entrenchment of Ticonderoga between the two lakes. Eye-witnesses have left on record the splendour of the scene, as the British attacking force, some 20,000 strong, moved down Lake George, the most beautiful sheet of water in North America: a vast flotilla of many hundred boats, in the sunrise of a July morning, gliding over the shining water on which bosky islands and towering mountains lay reflected,

while the strains of military music echoed along the shores. The glitter of gay uniforms and regimental standards, and the gleam of steel caught the sunshine as the largest and best-equipped force that had ever moved together in North America swept proudly on, to the dip of a thousand oars, along the glassy lake. And yet this noble army was going to a defeat far more bloody than Braddock's, and that too within a day of the third anniversary of that fateful field.

In the meantime the Marquis de Montcalm with 3000 French regulars and sharp-shooters lay at Ticonderoga behind a breastwork of logs and felled trees. An hour of artillery fire would have swept them all away, but Abercromby, the worst general perhaps we ever sent to America, was in command, and he left the guns, carried up Lake George with much labour, three miles behind at the edge of the lake, as not worth the trifling effort of dragging forward.

For four hours of a sweltering July day he hurled the cream of the British infantry in hopeless assault against the concealed and protected fire, at close range, of the French army. Infinite valour was shown in a wearisome succession of desperate and hopeless assaults, till long before sunset 2000 men had already fallen. After this, to make matters worse, as there was no necessity, since the French were too few for pursuit, Abercromby executed a disgraceful helter-skelter retreat up Lake George, and finished the costly campaign not merely with failure but with disgrace. It was a prodigious triumph for the French arms and a grievous humiliation for the British. Abercromby was in due course deprived of his command, but the noise of the disaster echoed all over America, and caused a profound sensation in England and France. It unfortunately, too, depressed the colonists and made the worst impression on the Indian nations who were watching anxiously to see which side seemed likely to prevail, knowing nothing of that distant sea-power which was pressing so heavily upon the French. This very moment indeed it had struck them a sore blow; for far away at Cape Breton in Nova Scotia, a fleet had landed a British army which, after an active

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

siege and heavy fighting, captured the French town of Louisbourg and the strongest fortress in North America. I shall speak of Nova Scotia presently, for though England had possessed it for forty years it was still but sparsely settled. Cape Breton island, however, a detached fragment of the province, had been left to France, and Louisbourg was of immense importance to that country for its commanding influence in the North Atlantic and its formidable strength



SIEGE OF LOUISBOURG, 1758

The town and fortress were destroyed by the British, and there is to-day little to be seen of either, but a few grass-grown ruins by the sea.

And all was not disaster in the land operations of this year 1758. A dash through the wilderness against Western Canada, by a New England general, Bradstreet, with a force mainly composed of colonial troops, had resulted in the destruction of the great fort and supply depôt of Frontenac which stood on the site of the present town of Kingston on Lake Ontario. Still more important, too, a southern expedition, composed partly of British

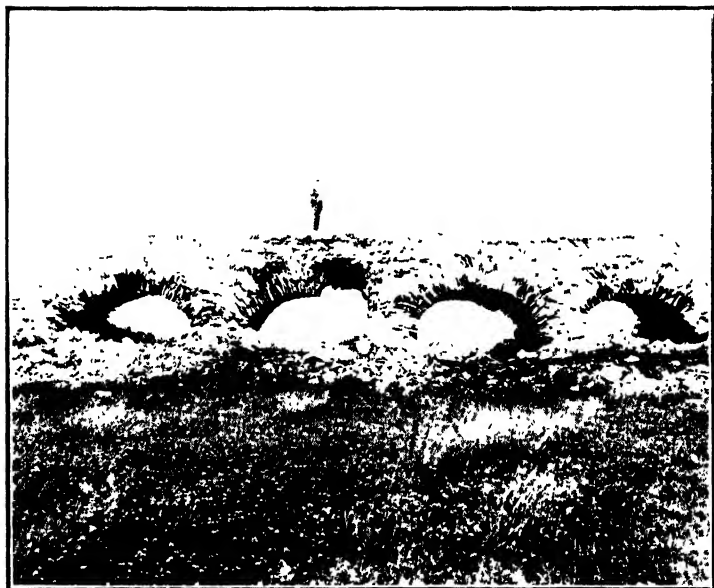
and partly of Virginian troops, had repeated the wilderness march of poor Braddock, but this time with complete success, and occupied without resistance the French Fort Duquesne on the Ohio.

The French dream of western empire was now shattered, and they were fighting in sheer defence of their own dominion of Canada with their backs against the wall, for, in spite of many failures, the British were steadily gaining the upper hand. The original intention of striking at Canada merely to cripple her designs on the great virgin west had now developed into a fixed idea of conquering that country and driving the French altogether from the continent. The latter, it might truly be said, had overreached themselves. In grasping at supremacy in North America they had thoroughly aroused the apparently lethargic British, and were to lose what they already had. Yet one cannot help feeling considerable sympathy for them all the same. They had as much right as ourselves to seize the great wild interior of America; more so, indeed, if daring exploration counts for anything, since the most heroic explorers of the interior hitherto had been Frenchmen. On the other hand reason and necessity were on the side of the British. Our people had shown the true genius for colonisation. Our provinces had grown and thriven, and, ever pressing westward, seemed to demand that their future progress should not be barred by mere forts and troops and fur-traders who lived like Indians, till some future day when France might perhaps develop better notions of practical colonisation than any she had yet exhibited.

For in a hundred and fifty years all she had to show for her occupation of Canada was 60,000 backward, illiterate peasant farmers along the fringe of the St. Lawrence, who could barely produce enough spare food for a single French regiment, much less for the forces France was now compelled to send there. But how the weakening of the French armies in America, and at the same time our own increase of energy, came about must be briefly related.

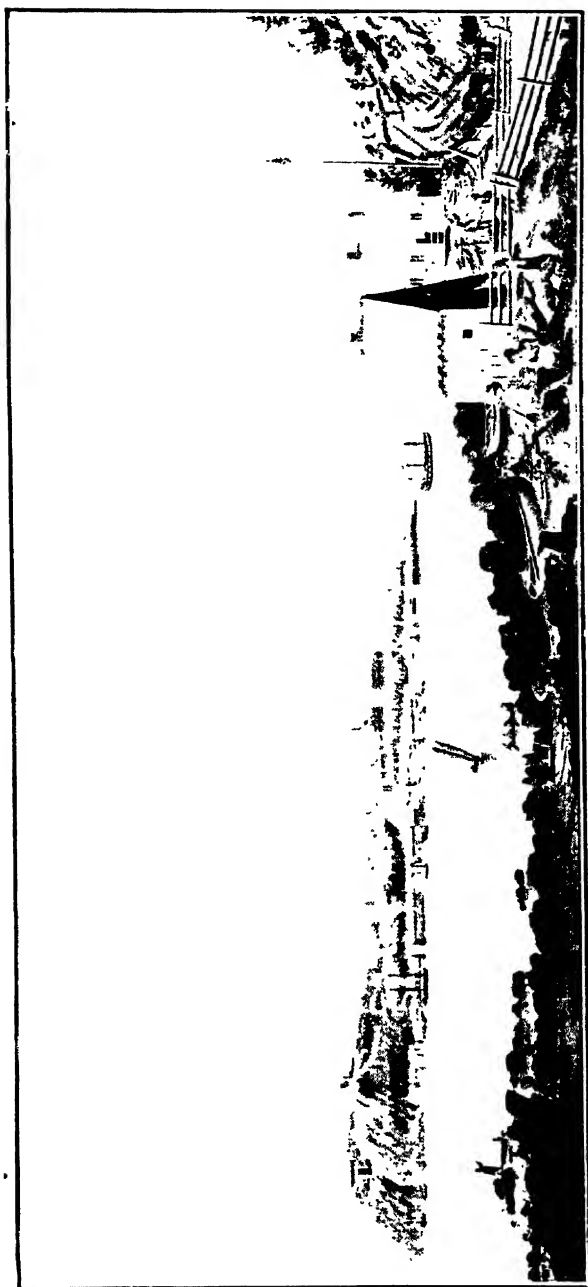
Now, up till 1756, when France and England formally

declared war, French policy, as I have said, was ardent for a French North America, but when a general war in Europe broke out she took the part of Austria against Frederick the Great of Prussia, upon whose side England now found herself. France had slight cause for joining Austria and overwhelming reasons for concentrating her



energies upon North America. Unfortunately for her the statesmen who had realised all this either passed out of power or were overborne. The counsel of others, who neither understood nor appreciated the North American policy, and were dazzled by the unprofitable and rumourous glories of a great war in Europe or stimulated by personal rivalries, prevailed. Though still exhausted in her treasury by the recent wars, France marched 100,000 men across her frontier to engage in a strife that offered nothing at all compared with the stake she might have played for in North America. If she had refrained from this fruitless

conflict and dispatched one-sixth of the number of men wasted on it to Canada and looked after her navy, there is no saying what the future of North America held for her or for us. But she practically abandoned her generals and forces there to protect her ancient colony and her great fur trade as best they could. Or, to be plainer, she so weakened herself by her efforts in Europe that if she had attempted to get men and supplies into Canada the British navy had acquired such a hold upon the seas that she could no longer do so. Still more fortunate for us and unfortunate for France, Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, the greatest war minister that Britain has ever had, came at this moment upon the scene and assumed entire control. Up to this time, 1757-1758, things had been going rather badly in North America as elsewhere. Incompetent commanders appointed by favouritism were causing grave miscarriages, wasting the troops and disheartening the better officers who without Court influence saw no reward for zeal and talent. Pitt altered all this. He shelved the titled and favoured incompetents amid the loud murmurs of their class, gave commands to promising young men regardless of family connexion, and above all breathed an unprecedented spirit of enthusiasm throughout the nation. His shrewd eye beheld France wasting her strength against Frederick of Prussia for the benefit of Austria and throwing away her great opportunities in North America. So, as Frederick's ally, he supplied that hero with large sums of money in order that he might keep their mutual enemy engaged in Europe while he concentrated his own fervent energies on the conquest of Canada and the expulsion of the French power from the American continent. Good troops led by able, energetic officers and supported by powerful fleets now crossed the Atlantic. The capture of Louisbourg and of Fort Duquesne were due to his stirring influence. The only ship he made was in leaving General Abercromby to perpetrate the ghastly masco of Ticonderoga, but that was the last. The French were now prevented from assisting Canada by the watchful activity of British sailors, who



like the soldiers had imbibed the new vigour and patriotism inspired by Pitt. By the end of 1758, in spite of the failure of the principal land advance at Ticonderoga, Canada was virtually doomed. The French were now compelled to collect all their forces within the colony itself and to expend all their energies on its defence. Nor was braver struggle ever made by Frenchmen than that carried on by Montcalm, his troops and the Canadian people, abandoned, as it may well have seemed to them, by their Mother Country for a Will-o'-the-wisp in Europe.

It is impossible to follow here the movements of the British and colonial forces from various quarters upon Canada. But the year 1757 is prominent in the story of the Empire, opened with hope, energy, and activity.

The northern colonies contributed efforts in men and money, though there were some rivalries and jealousies between the colonial and British troops. They had grown up under different discipline and looked at things from different points of view. But never before had Great Britain and her colonies co-operated so great together as in this and the following year of prodigious effort, enthusiasm and victory. Few then could have dreamed that in twenty years they would be engaged, amid the very lakes and mountains, too, in mortal strife with one another. But the conquest of Canada demanded a concentration of troops, some 25,000 of all arms, and led by a single commander, with the main body well-marched behind the St. Lawrence and posted some 100 miles from the British settlements by a rugged wilderness, not passable between May and November, was no light task. In these days scientific inventions have made the marching of armies through such countries comparatively easy. In those, especially when attacks from lucky raiders and then warlike Indian allies familiar with the track were possible at any moment, it was a most laborious business.

Sir Geoffrey Amherst was now Commander-in-chief, and the plan for this year, 1758, was the advance of a strong land force up the old lake and river route from Albany upon Montreal, while an attack was made on Quebec by an army

conveyed there by sea. It will be enough to say that Ankerst, skilful and thorough, perhaps too thorough,



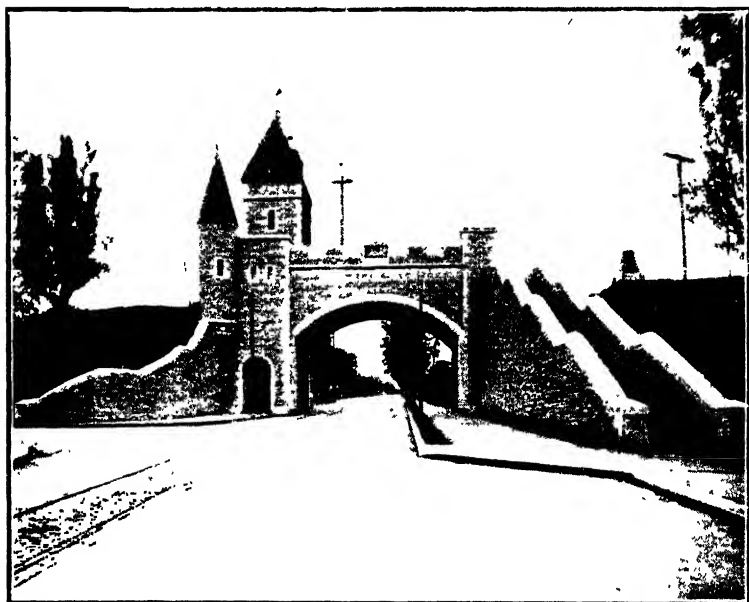
though he was, failed to get through before the winter stopped his operations. He met with no defeats and indeed with little resistance. Sheer difficulties of transport and organisation, for this unenterprising man, proved of themselves too much. Nor did this so greatly matter, since

Quebec, the key of Canada, succumbed that September to British arms under the immortal Wolfe and definitely sealed the fate of the country. Why, it may be asked, did the French, cut off from all succour, continue a struggle that must now have seemed hopeless? For the simple reason that the strain of these gigantic wars was so great on all the European countries that a general peace might conceivably be made at any moment, and if France were then still in possession of Canada, such possession would count very largely in a Treaty of Peace in which many powers and interests outside America had a voice. France would hardly in such case have been expected to give up Canada, for England had originally gone to war only to drive her from the back of her own colonies, which had already been done; or if she did consent it would only be in exchange for some valuable English possession elsewhere. So Pitt was determined at all hazards to press on his forces till the French were 'driven into the sea.' But the French could not, of course, be fully aware of Pitt's strong opinions on the subject. Moreover, he might die or another Government, with different views, come into office. So they struggled bravely to retain their foothold as long as possible.

The attack upon Quebec was the chief stroke aimed by Pitt at Canada this year. The land expedition under Amherst was expected to result in the capture of Montreal, 150 miles up the St. Lawrence from Quebec. If that commander could only get there, its capture was a practical certainty, and the two cities occupying the east and west end respectively of the narrow strip then constituting inhabited Canada once secured, the whole business would be finished. But Amherst, as we have seen, could not get through, a fact which of necessity postponed the conquest of Canada till the following summer.

Quebec was comparatively easy to reach, but, occupying a position of great natural strength, had never yet been captured. It stands on the point of a high rocky ridge above the St. Lawrence, here less than a mile in width, and is the

most nobly placed city in North America. It was further defended by walls and batteries, while for seven miles below on the same shore the steep but sloping ridges above the river were intrenched and lined with troops and guns. Behind these long entrenchments with about 16,000 men, including 2000 in the city itself, Montcalm awaited



ST. LOUIS

the British, tolerably confident that he would hold Quebec against one army and fleet, whatever might happen to Montreal, and whatever disaster its expected fall might afterwards mean to him. It was not his business to go half-way to meet trouble, but simply to defend Quebec till the arrival of winter should drive his enemy from before it. He had a young opponent, already of some distinction and well worthy of his steel. James Wolfe was but thirty-one when he sat down with his 9000 men before Quebec at the end of June and for the first time understood the

tremendous task in which his newly made reputation was involved.

No one in England had ever seen Quebec, nor till now had Wolfe or any of his army! Of famous reputation and formidable name in the ears of Ministers and colonial Governors for generations, it had lain hidden, as it were, from the world's eye, up a river rarely navigated thus far but by French trading vessels. In the preceding century the New-Englanders with some small ships had attempted its capture, but now the British had pushed a whole fleet of big warships and over a hundred transports, by daring and skilful navigation of the treacherous channels of the St. Lawrence, right up to the city. Nothing like this had ever been seen before, or such a feat thought possible! And the simple Canadians were amazed!

James Wolfe was the son of a reputable but not brilliant General who had fought in his youth under Marlborough. He was born at Westerham, in a house still standing, and entered the army at fifteen. A year later he acted as adjutant of his infantry regiment all through the victorious battle of Dettingen, and from his many hard campaigns while still a boy probably contracted that delicacy against which he struggled through his short life with such undaunted spirit. With no particular influence in days when this was almost everything, he rose by sheer merit with great rapidity and by his twenty-fourth year was a lieutenant-colonel. Besides his many Continental campaigns he also served at Falkirk and Culloden against the young Pretender, while in peace time his regiment came to be sought after as the best school of military training for young men eager to learn their profession. His character was both an uncommon and a fine one. He was fond of society and of all manly out-door sports, but instead of thinking like many of his comrades that such tastes were enough and entitled him to be ignorant of everything else, he was a most diligent student of languages, mathematics, and military history, ancient and modern. Above all he loved his country's honour with an abiding passion. Such was Wolfe before he

was thirty and that, too, in spite of a sickly though tall frame and chronic ill-health. His eventful life is a better illustration

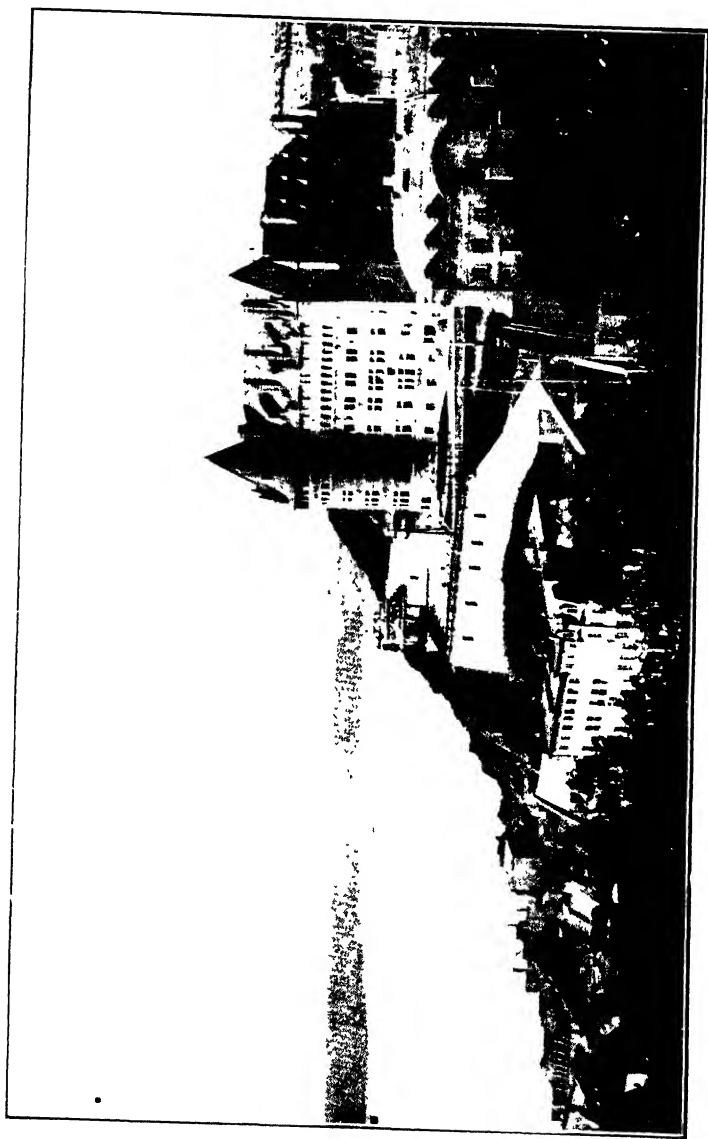


of many-sided excellence and vigour than even that of Wellington or Nelson, and should be read by everyone, while no young man or boy could well do so without rising the better for his example. Even in peace time, as a mere regimental colonel, Wolfe gained much reputation. In the first year of the Seven Years' War he was given a high staff appointment

on that ill-conceived and miscarried raid on the French coast at Rochelle in which he was at least able to show his spirit. In the next year Pitt made him one of the three brigadiers commanding the great and successful attack on Louisbourg, where he reaped the chief laurels. And now he was entrusted with the full command of this expedition against Quebec, on which the eyes of all England were anxiously fixed. However certain the eventual conquest of Canada might be if the war lasted, Wolfe was sent out to take Quebec that summer. His own reputation at least as one of 'Pitt's young men,' an upstart in the eyes of the 'old gang,' was absolutely staked. To him with his high-strung nerves, fiery spirit, and wretched health it seemed to be a question of the crowning glory or the utter ruin of his life, for in no case did he expect to live a length of days. 'Just patched up by the doctors for this business, after which nothing matters,' are his own words as he left Bath for his command. His professional enthusiasm caused some courtiers to remark with a sneer that he was mad. 'Mad, is he?' replied that keen old soldier George II, who had suffered much from titled and incompetent commanders; 'then I only hope he'll bite some of my Generals.'

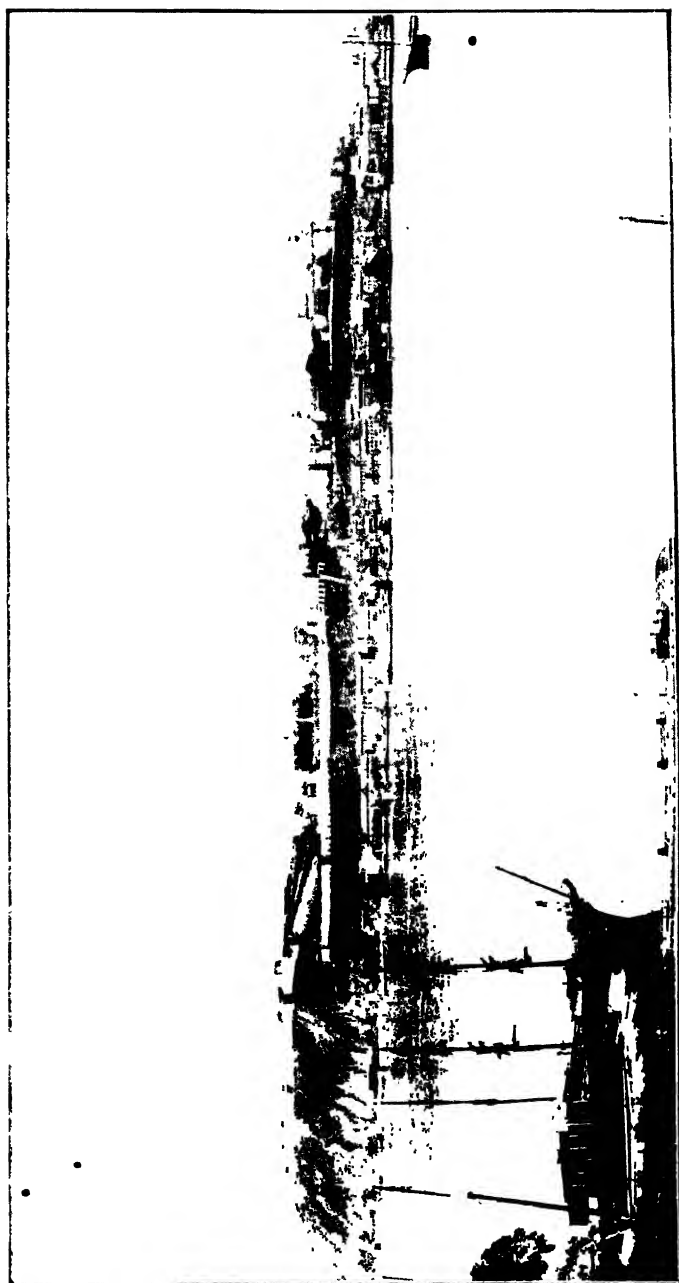
When Wolfe and his officers first surveyed the formidable task before them, the difficulties of which the people away in England could not possibly realise and would certainly not make allowance for, if exasperated by failure to achieve the crowning victory on which they had set their hearts, the prospect dismayed even this gallant group. The troops, to be sure, were all first-rate, highly disciplined and largely veterans. The sailors commanded by Admiral Saunders were equally efficient, and strange though it may seem to us now, almost for the first time there was cordial co-operation between the two services. For there was so much jealousy in those days between soldiers and sailors, that English fleets and armies had hitherto been more inclined to thwart than help each other on combined expeditions. There was fortunately little of this at Quebec, for the ships and boats of the fleet were vital to Wolfe, as his operations had to be

conducted up and down a navigable river. Though



Montcalm had nearly double Wolfe's force, two-thirds of them were Canadian militia, admirable in thick woods or

behind fortifications, but of little use in the open from lack of fire discipline and knowledge of the bayonet, which in those days, when it took a long time to reload the short-range muskets, was a vitally important weapon in warfare. Montcalm knew he would be beaten if Wolfe got him out into the open, so like the astute general that he was he determined to sit tight behind his skillfully planned defences till his best ally the fierce Canadian winter should send his enemy's fleet flying before the gathering ice in the St. Lawrence and his army with it. — No entrapped troop could winter in that cold country shut off from all the world. Nor must we overlook some other great difficulties under which Montcalm suffered. — Canada under French rule was nearly always short of provisions, and now these two years, practically cut off from the usual French supply ships, her army was living on half rations. — But this was not altogether due to unavoidable causes: for there was a small gang of shamelessly corrupt Government officials in Quebec, over whom Montcalm, being only Commander of the Forces, had no control and whom the civil Governor of Canada, the Marquis de Vaudreuil — a vain, touchy, jealous, rather weak man — would not or could not restrain. These men in a small colony mainly peopled by ignorant peasant farmers and a few careless, impecunious, warlike seigneurs had the commissariat in their hands. Devoted of either patriotism or honesty, these wretched harpies only saw in the needs and ruin of their country a greater opportunity for fraud and speculation, on the proceeds of which shameless spoil they could return to France and to a life of ease and luxury. They had followed these practices with impunity for many years, and now the distress and isolation of the colony from the Mother Country made it all the easier for them to practise their heartless and notorious exactions. — We cannot pause here to explain why the French system of government in Canada, though with the best of intentions, made such dreadful things possible. How they shocked and exasperated Montcalm, himself the soul of honour, yet helpless to interfere, and added to his difficulties, his

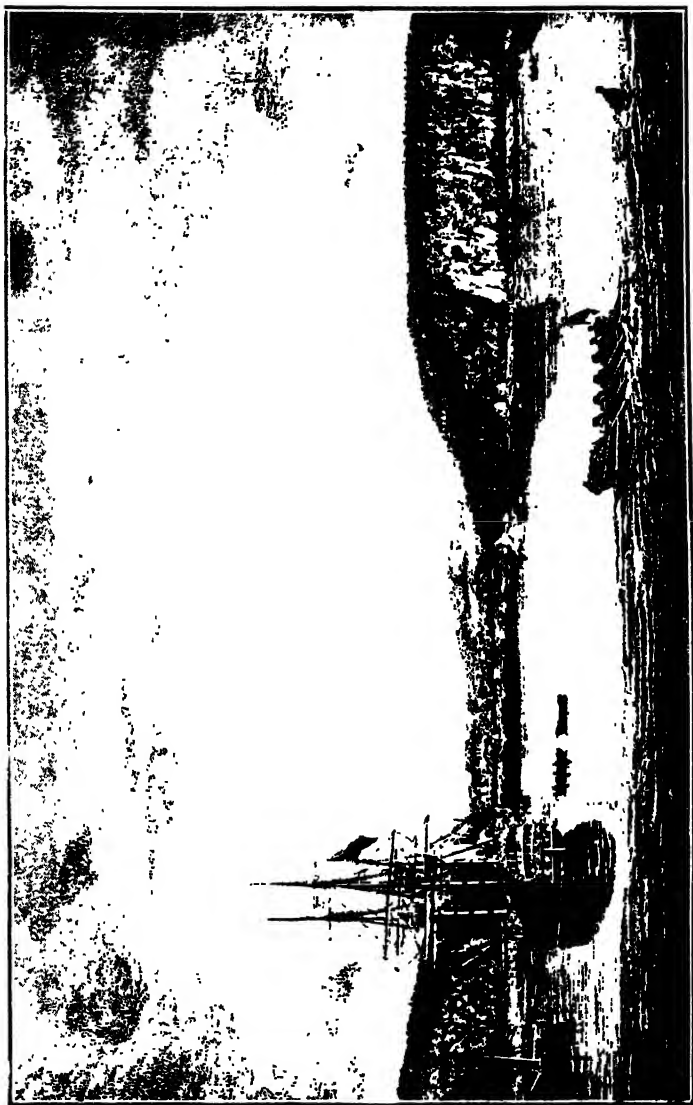


letters amply testify. But he had scraped together enough supplies to last the town and garrison till the winter at any rate, by careful management, assisted by occasional consignments brought along a back route from up the river.

All through the hot months of July and August, Wolfe and his three brigadiers, Townshend, Monckton and Murray, loyally helped by the fleet, did everything keen, brave, and skilful soldiers could achieve with a besieging army reduced by the sickness inevitable to such a situation to less than half that of the defenders behind their impregnable defences. We have no space to describe in any detail this memorable siege and all the strategy employed to tempt the astute Montcalm outside his lines, or to explain why the nature of the ground made these so invulnerable to direct attack. One serious attempt of this kind, however, was made, and a thousand men, Highlanders and English with supports, were hurled at the embattled ridge near the now famous falls of Montmorency. But the very impetuosity of their valour exceeded for once the high sense of discipline of the rank and file till nearly half their number had fallen in a quarter of an hour upon the steep slopes beneath a hail of lead. Half the city itself was pounded into ruins, though reluctantly, by batteries across the river at the range of three-quarters of a mile; churches, convents, houses were all toppling down, but nothing would tempt Montcalm out, and the destruction of the city did not in this particular case make it any more vulnerable.

Wolfe's feeble health gave way more than once under the bodily strain of his ceaseless exertions and a despondency caused by the dread of failure, as his relentless foe the Canadian winter crept slowly but surely nearer. When September came things looked black indeed. 'What will they say in England, where these tremendous difficulties can never be realised?' was the question on everyone's lips, which had sunk deep into Wolfe's heart. Unlike many men who have sprung rapidly to supreme command, however, Wolfe was fortunate in the affection of the entire army, officers

and men alike. When in September the disease which

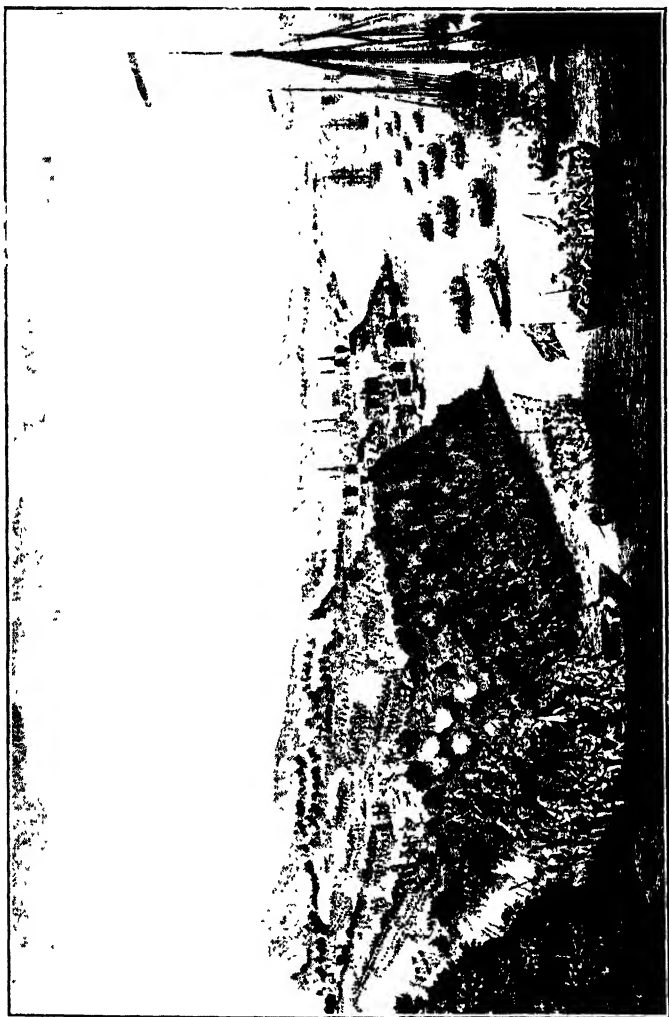


always more or less preyed upon his delicate frame stretched the young General helpless on a sick bed, and in some

danger of his life, 'the whole army mourned,' as a young captain in it who scarcely knew Wolfe tells us in his journal. Mercifully spared, however, for the moment, he was up and doing in a few days, with a last desperate plan maturing in his mind. All the ordinary and hitherto conceivable points of attack had been reluctantly voted hopeless by Wolfe and his council of officers, who would have done or dared anything short of a futile sacrifice of their men. What made it worse, too, was the arrival of news that Amherst was baulked in his attempt to get through that season to Montreal; for even had Wolfe failed to take Quebec by September there was always the hope that Amherst, crushing the smaller force under Lewis, which held Montreal, would descend the St. Lawrence and, adding his army to that of Wolfe, overwhelm Quebec. But above the battered though defiant city a line of cliffs stretched up the river for some four or five miles, precipitous enough to be their own defence, with a mere sentry post here and there along their summit. Having carefully surveyed these with field-glasses from a boat, Wolfe made up his mind to the audacious venture of scaling them with his army in the darkness of night and seizing the plateau behind the city known as the 'Plains of Abraham.'

If success attended this achievement, Montcalm would be virtually compelled to come out into the open and fight. As an alternative, Wolfe would have leisure to haul guns up, pound a breach in the walls, which were not strong at the back of the city, and carry it by assault. There were in truth many risks, but the absence of any alternative seemed to justify the attempt. So Wolfe, keeping his own counsel very literally, set about carrying the plan into execution, giving his brigadiers merely to understand that he had a scheme for landing somewhere up the river, and stoutly facing thereby some hours of not unnatural resentment at his reticence. He selected between four and five thousand of his best troops, leaving the remainder under instructions with the help of the ships to keep Montcalm fully occupied by a sustained artillery fire and feigned

preparations for landing in boats under the long intrenched lines of Beauport. Several ships under Admiral Holmes



in the meantime went up stream with Wolfe and his troops to a bay beyond the aforementioned precipitous line of cliffs where two thousand French had been stationed to guard the upper river.

There was nothing novel in this progress of the British up the river, as several small raids had already been made in that direction. Moreover, by marching his men up the south bank in part under cover of the woods, and by other devices, the French stationed at Cap Rouge, the spot above alluded to, were prevented from having any real notion of their numbers. To aid in the deception several ships were sent high up the river, as if to repeat one of the former raids. So most of the French at Cap Rouge hurried up after them along the shore and away from the real danger point.

It was now the night of the 12th of September; only Admiral Holmes and a subordinate naval officer, who had to provide and navigate the necessary boats, had been put in possession of Wolfe's actual plan. His three brigadiers, too, who as before mentioned had been rather affronted at his reticence, were now told that he had marked a rough zigzag path up the cliff then nearly covered with brushwood, two miles above Quebec, and that he purposed to convey the troops thither in boats under cover of the darkness, and get them up on to the plateau behind the city before the French were aware of the movement. The soldiers had in the meanwhile been brought on board the ships, and just before midnight were all dropped into the boats near the southern shore of the river, which is here a mile in width. It was a dark night and the distance down to the landing-place was about six miles. In due course, Wolfe himself in the leading boat, the long flotilla, favoured by an ebbing tide, crossed into the shadow of the cliffs on the Quebec shore and crept noiselessly down the stream. Wolfe at this pregnant moment only felt that his own reputation and that of his army was staked on the perilous enterprise. He did not know that the whole future of North America was also being balanced in the scales.

Twice they narrowly escaped disaster. Once an English sloop, thinking they were French provision boats, was on the point of firing at close quarters on Wolfe's own boat when the General called out in the nick of time. Later on

a French sentry on the cliffs challenged them, when a Highland officer who could speak French replied with praiseworthy readiness to the effect that they were French provision boats and saved the situation. They reached their destination without discovery and began disembarking with dispatch. A leading company was at once sent by Wolfe up the cliff to seize a small French post of observation known to be near the top. The soldiers dragging themselves



ENOUX, IN WHICH MONTCALM DIED

up by the bushes gained the summit, surprised and overpowered the handful of Frenchmen, and then, as boat after boat came in, the rest of the troops scrambled up after them.

To cut short the stirring tale, by daybreak or soon after the whole division had surmounted the cliff and marched along the plateau to within a mile of the city walls, where they were leisurely drawn up in order of battle before Montcalm was aware of what had happened. When the news was brought him he was thunder-struck, and almost refused to believe it. But as he galloped from his camp at Beauport to the city the red lines of the British infantry on the Plains of Abraham were only too visible in the morning light and

told their fatal tale. The Marquis dared not bring up all his men from the entrenched lines of Beauport, for he knew not how many British troops still remained opposite them below the city, and the militia he also knew too well were of small account in the open field against disciplined regulars. But with the utmost dispatch he pushed forward all his own regular troops, the heroes of many battles, and supplementing them with militia drew up a force in front of the walls slightly superior to that of Wolfe. But Wolfe had no fear of the result. Indeed, humbly speaking, there was none. His troops had been annoyed already for some time by sharpshooters in the scrub fringing the Plain, but they stood, or rather lay down, firm in their lines, waiting with composure for bigger game. Wolfe himself had been already hit in the wrist, butkerbing it with a handkerchief he walked up an' down before the ranks with 'glowing countenance,' say the story-tellers, giving his last orders. Montcalm, too, could be seen exhorting the French, mounted on a black charger. The British had strict orders to reserve their fire till the enemy were within forty paces, after which two volleys and then the bayonet was the order.

The French came on, at ten o'clock with loud shouts and irregular firing; the British took their punishment immovably, and at forty yards as ordered poured in a terrible and accurate volley, which sounded, say those who heard it, like one tremendous cannon-shot. The French, half regulars and half militia staggered under the withering shock. Another volley was poured into their half-broken ranks, which added to their discomfiture, and then two-thirds of the British army, the rest being held in reserve against an attack in the rear from the Cap Rouge division, who were hurrying back from their elusive chase, went in with bayonet and claymore. The battle only lasted some twenty minutes, the French being driven in headlong rout with great loss towards the city. But Wolfe, alas! while leading the right wing and in the very moment of his triumph, was struck down by a ball in the breast. He was carried to the rear and laid on a cloak, and in a short time, with the shouts of victory ringing

in his ears, yielded up to a French bullet that gallant spirit which neither disease nor difficulties could quell. He spoke but a few words to the effect that doctors were useless as his wound was mortal. 'Egad, they run,' said one of his attendants. 'Who run?' murmured the dying man. 'The enemy, sir.' 'Thank God, then I die in peace.' This was the last and almost the only utterance of the young hero after he fell.

His gallant foe Montcalm was shot through the body, and died that night in the city, and their names are graven together on a monument raised to their joint memory in Quebec, though neither need a monument, for both the victor and the vanquished are high among the immortals.

A strange panic now seized the remains of the French army, for they abandoned Quebec and their entrenchments, and hurried in haste and confusion along a back road towards Montreal. The militia, thus deserted by the regulars, all dispersed to their homes, and the city, left with but a trifling garrison, had no choice but to surrender. Two days later it was occupied by a strong British force, while the fleet and the rest of the troops, carrying Wolfe's body with them, sailed away soon afterwards. The news of the young hero's victory and death at the same moment caused an extraordinary sensation throughout England. Despondency was general as to the prospects of the campaign, when suddenly came this astounding and dramatic finish. 'Men wept and laughed together from sheer excitement and emotion,' says Horace Walpole. Bonfires flared in every market-place and wild peals of joy rang out from every church steeple in England, strangely varied from time to time by the muffled toll of a single bell that showed the sincere grief for the fallen hero which tempered the outburst of national exultation. Wolfe's embalmed body was borne with every mark of public sorrow and respect from Portsmouth to Greenwich, where it was laid in the family vault, while many of my readers will know the large monument in Westminster Abbey which was erected by a grateful country to his memory. 'Wolfe's achievement on the

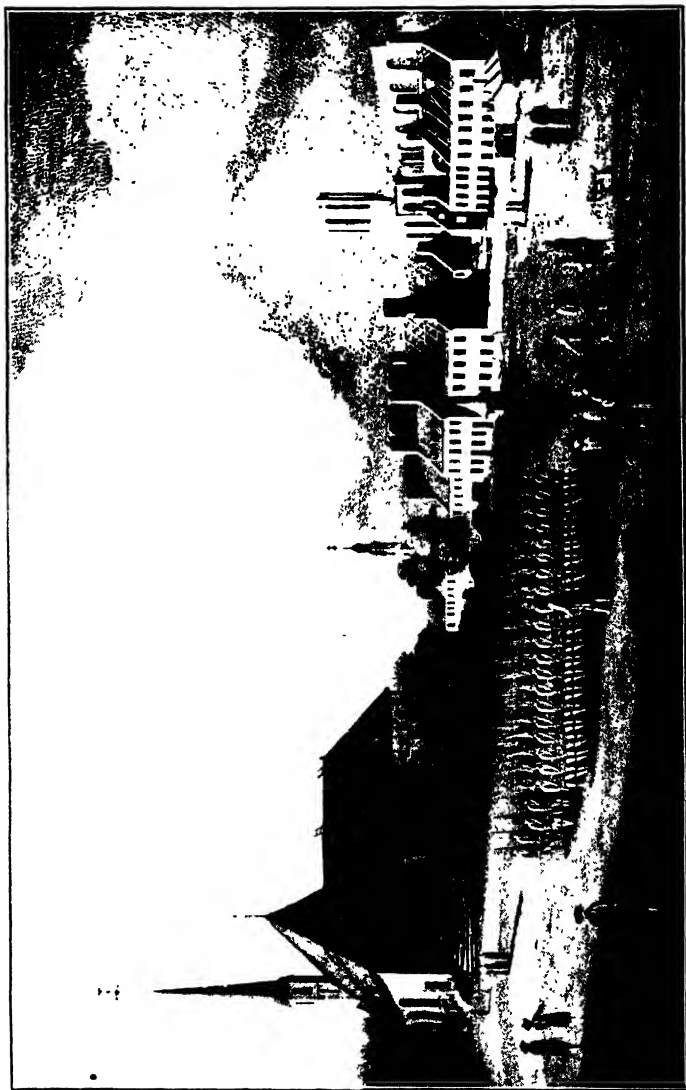
Plains of Abraham,' says a great historian, 'not merely gave Canada to England; but it laid the foundations of the United



WOLFE AND MONTCALM MONUMENT.

States.' How this came about will sufficiently appear in a later chapter, and these are the reasons why I have dwelt at greater length on this famous incident than space will permit of in this little book for other military exploits that contributed to the making of our colonial empire.

Winter alone delayed the finishing stroke to the conquest



of Canada. General Murray and his garrison spent it in the half-ruined city, where, all ill-prepared for its fierce climate,

they suffered much privation and sickness, borne with a fortitude worthy of the high quality and discipline of the troops. The French, reduced by killed, wounded, and prisoners and the dispersion of their militia to three or four thousand regulars and about as many militia under the brave and skilful General Levis, wintered in Montreal and its neighbourhood. The other British armies awaited to the southward the coming of summer to close on their now helpless foe. The French remnant, smarting under their late defeat and learning of the sickness which raged in Quebec, made a courageous attempt—useless though even success would have proved in view of the great forces only awaiting the summer to overwhelm them, to recapture Quebec while the snow was still on the ground. Murray was rather foolishly tempted to come out with such men as remained strong enough and fight an engagement at St. Foy, close to the Plains of Abraham, in which he got decidedly the worst of it and the French at least some slight revenge for the disasters of the previous autumn. But this affected the situation in no way. When the St. Lawrence cleared of ice in May, an English fleet and fresh troops relieved Quebec. Levis and his small force, still further diminished by losses, privation, and desertion, awaited with the Governor, Vaudreuil, the final blow at Montreal. Amherst, however, left nothing to chance. Almost on the same day of August 1760, that commander himself and another division of his army arrived by different routes from the south, while at the same time came a third force fresh from the successful capture of Fort Niagara in the west, as well as other troops conveyed in transports up the St. Lawrence from Quebec. Montreal was weakly fortified. Its people were sick of war and had been long prepared for surrender. The militia were altogether past recall, and moreover had resented the undignified flight of the Governor, Vaudreuil, and the regular troops from Quebec after the battle.

So Amherst sat down before the city with 18,000 men, and called on the French King's Viceroy with his shrunken force of about as many hundreds to surrender. There

was a little lagging, but the brave defence made by Canada had won the respect of the British and there was every desire both at home and with the army to be generous. So the Canadians were promised that their religion, their language and their laws, so far as these last did not interfere with the imperial safety of Great Britain, should be respected. Two thousand men and officers then laid down their arms on the Champ de Mars in front of the cathedral, and Canada was formally handed over to General Amherst as representing the British Crown.

CHAPTER IV

CANADA AND BRITISH RULE

THOUGH Canada was surrendered in 1760, the war in Europe and elsewhere dragged on for over two years, and the Treaty of Peace between England, France, and Spain, that famous one of Paris, was not signed till the beginning of 1763. Spain, dragged into the war by France, paid the price by the cession of Florida to England, receiving Louisiana from her ally as compensation. In the meantime the French soldiers had been sent back to Europe, British garrisons placed in Quebec and Montreal, and the colony governed by the military under General Murray till peace should be proclaimed. The rule of these officers was just and generous. They respected an enemy who had made so brave a fight, and did all they could to spare their feelings. The Canadians, on their part, with the buoyancy of their French blood, though patriotic enough, soon recovered their spirits. They were, in truth, war-sick, and the country had been sorely ravaged by the fighting and the necessary exactions of both French and English armies. Yet more, they were grateful for the promise that their religion and language should not be interfered with and for the less definite but reasonable assurance in the matter of their laws. It is quite certain that the French of that day as conquerors of a British Protestant colony would not have behaved so liberally.

And now during this interval of two years in our narrative, while Canada and the North American colonies were waiting for the peace in Europe to settle all these and many other weighty matters, a few more words may be said as to the

past of this same Canada, destined as she was to become the greatest of our oversea dominions. These must be brief,



since the subject only concerns us here as accounting for the peculiar condition of the country when we took over its future government and for many of our after difficulties. As

early as 1535 Jacques Cartier, a famous French navigator, had penetrated to Hochelaga, the Indian town which stood where Montreal was afterwards built. The importance of the site, then as now, lies in the fact of its being the highest point up the river that vessels could navigate, the St. Lawrence being obstructed above by furious, impassable rapids, round which, however, canals have since been cut. Cartier and others spent more than one season between Hochelaga and that spot some hundred and fifty miles lower down, where Quebec now stands, but with no lasting results. So Canada, like New England and Virginia, remained a region known only to sailors till its settlement in 1608 by that bold navigator Samuel de Champlain and his merchant friends, who, strangely enough, were Protestants, that creed being for the moment tolerated in France. About the same time and mainly by the same sort of people a settlement was made in Acadia, afterwards Nova Scotia, which in spite of occasional interference by English adventurers maintained itself with sufficient success to be represented a century later by two or three thousand peasants, known as Acadians. They remained, however, virtually isolated, and such importance as they ever possessed belongs to Nova Scotian history, which will be treated of later. The Quebec settlement, unlike its contemporaries, Virginia and New England, was established mainly for the sake of the Indian fur trade, with the same ulterior hopes, however, of discovering a north-west passage to the East Indies. The usual dreams of fabulous gold mines were incidentally involved in all such adventures, while the missionary spirit was a worthy collateral motive with the French in all North American enterprise. Champlain was a great man, and by study of the Indian natives and energetic exploration founded a great trade. Protestants a few years afterwards fell under a ban in France, and unhappily for that nation were henceforth rigidly excluded from French America. Champlain introduced the Catholic religious orders to the country who, with all their fanatical intolerance, by their genius for exploration, their enthusiasm as missionaries, tact with

the Indians and friendly treatment of them, contributed materially to the expansion of French influence and trade.

Curiously enough, Quebec was seized by the English, and Champlain with his settlers carried to Plymouth in 1628. But at the peace soon afterwards concluded the two nations restored their respective conquests, and this episode scarcely interrupted the early current of Canadian history.

Like many colonies Canada was for some time owned and administered by a great trading company, which brought out, with a view to establishing a better equipped base of operations, about three hundred farmers from northern France, many of whom were accompanied by their wives. But the religious orders had been also arriving in small companies, the Jesuits, most rigid and intolerant of all, soon getting the upper hand. They were joined by many lay men and women, frequently of noble blood, who like the priests devoted their lives to caring for both the souls and bodies of the colonists and to the conversion of the Indians. The power they exercised over the colony, chartered company though it was, is difficult for an English reader unversed in the conditions of then nation at that period to realise. The trouble with the Indians who almost surrounded the little community, and particularly with the fierce Iroquois, grew in time very serious. Martyrs and heroes who faced not merely death but horrible tortures are thick in the story, as also are fearless explorers. But they managed to maintain themselves at Quebec and Montreal, though by 1663 there were only 2000 souls all told in the colony, while New England and Virginia, founded about the same time, contained at that date some twenty or thirty times as many. Now, however, New France or Canada took a notable leap forward. The first trading corporation was replaced by the West India Company, a much more enterprising concern, but above all the Crown itself took a more direct interest in the colony. This departure was due to an able minister, Colbert, with strong views on the value of colonies, who fired the young King Louis XIV with his own enthusiasm. In the next few

years many thousands of emigrants were sent out by the Government, but with such discretion that those who were not farmers were apprenticed to old settlers before being provided with land.

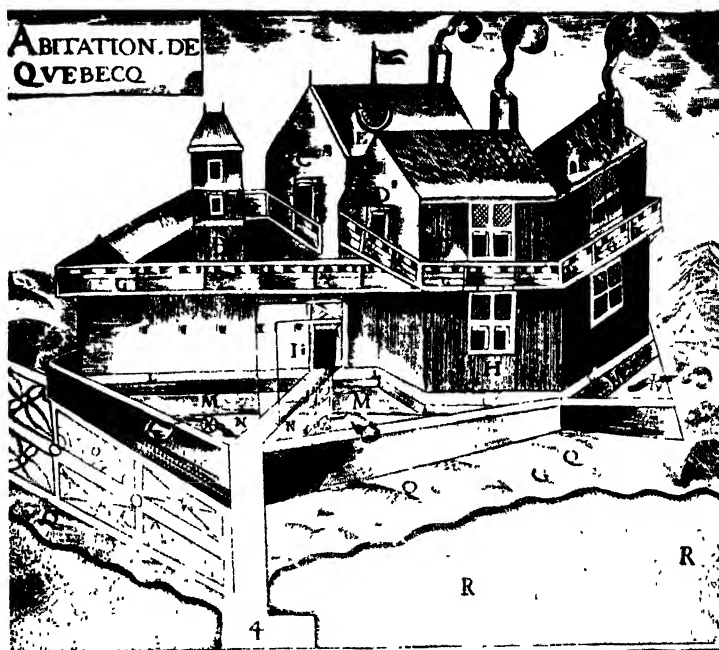


As far more men than women went out in these consignments, shiploads of selected girls were separately dispatched and placed under the protection of the various convents till husbands were found for them, a consummation for which few had long to wait. Among these miscellaneous drafts,

however, went nearly a whole regiment of soldiers, that of Carrignan, to be settled on land south of Montreal and thus constitute a protection against the Iroquois. This flow of assisted emigration ended about 1672. Never from that day to this has any French emigration worth mentioning gone into Canada. It is safe to say that the ancestors of nearly all the 60,000 French Canadians we found there in 1761 and of the nearly two millions of our French fellow-subjects there to-day, went to Canada in the seventeenth century. It was just a hundred years, too, before the British conquest, when the French Crown took Canada seriously in hand, that the almost feudal system spoken of in a former chapter was established there. Nothing indeed could be more utterly different than the way in which England left her colonies each to look after and govern itself from the politic swaddling clothes in which the French Crown retained the Canadian. It was now that the country, all forest clad, remember, save where cleared by the axe, was divided into those seigneuries or great estates already alluded to, and a small aristocracy created partly from the penniless sons of the lesser nobility in France, officers and such-like, and partly from any adventurers who had money or interest to acquire the position.

A sort of Canadian nobility was thus deliberately formed, each member holding, and transmitting to his descendants, several square miles of rough country on one bank or the other of the St. Lawrence, which served as a common highway. Upon each estate were numbers of small farmers, or *habitants* as they were called, paying a trifling fixed rent to the seigneur, grinding their corn at his mill, and owing him certain services and fines. These *habitants* cleared their farms by degrees, lived in comfortable though rude plenty and could not be disturbed, while the seigneur in turn was responsible to the Crown for his treatment of them. He was very poor himself, but ranked as a gentleman and was treated with some of the respect due to a feudal lord. He was often an active leader in wars against the Indians and English or a hunter and explorer, while occasionally he

held a small post at the little viceregal court at Quebec. He acted as a petty magistrate, though often he could neither



- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|--|
| A Le magasin. | le perron. | |
| B Colombier. | Habit. du fort de Chan | |
| C Corps de logis où font hor | le fort. | |
| aires, & pour loger les ou- | Habit. de la habitation. | |
| riers. | le fort de Chan- | |
| D Aut. corps de logis pour | L. Place de la habitation | |
| les cuisiniers. | du fort de Chan- | |
| E Aut. corps de logis pour | le fort de Chan- | |
| les cuisiniers. | le fort de Chan- | |
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THE BEGINNING OF OUR

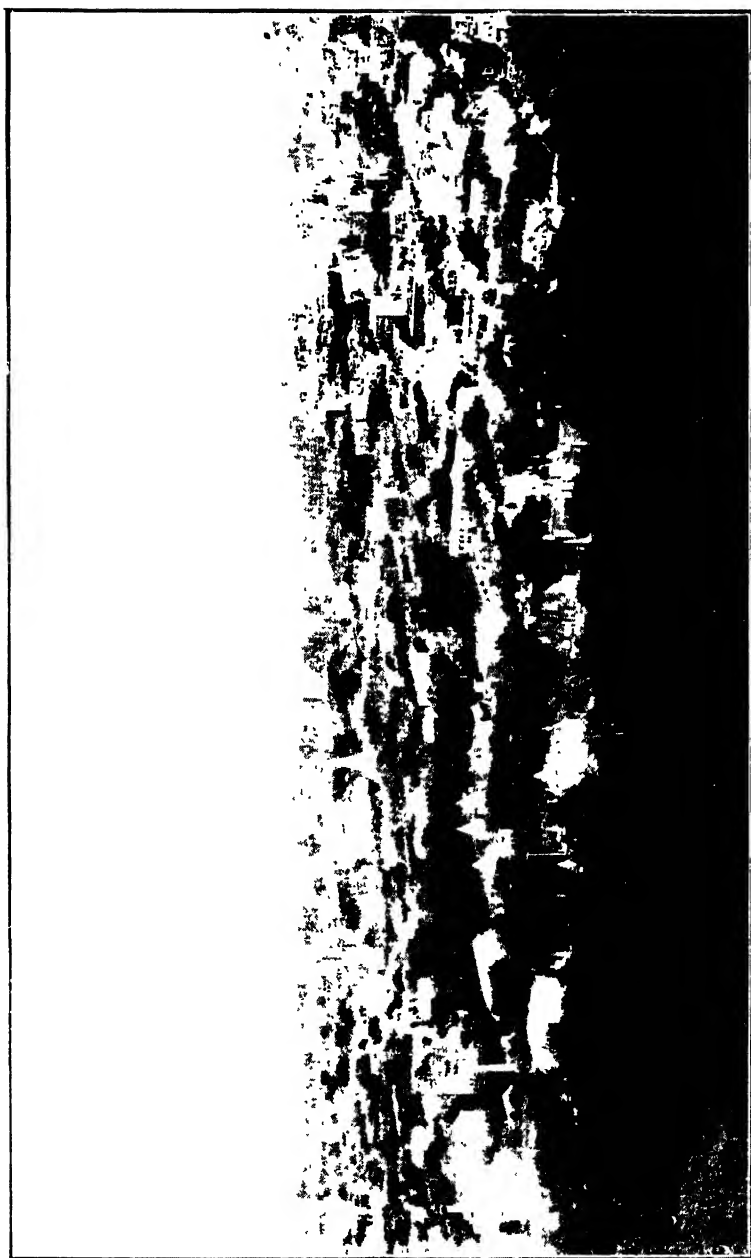
read nor write, but had no more voice in the government than his tenantry. This last was in the hands of a trio, the Governor, an Intendant—a lawyer appointed by the King to control the purse and keep an eye on the Governor—and thirdly, the Bishop of Quebec. For the Church was firmly established, with parish churches everywhere besides

monasteries, convents, and seminaries in the two cities. Though the Governor was actually the chief authority, he and the head of the Church were constantly striving for the mastery, while the Intendant watched both for the King with jealous eye.

But it is enough here that this trio, subject to orders from France, governed the colony absolutely. No one objected, nor indeed was there any tyranny, though a good deal of speculation that in later days amounted to such or worse. The peasantry were devout Catholics and paid their tithes cheerfully. They did not like the 'corvées' or occasional gatherings for forced labour, but took their compulsory share in the frequent wars without much complaint, while of popular government they neither knew nor wanted to know anything.

The fur trade, too, employed thousands of unattached Canadians scattered all over the Far West, as boatmen, canoeists, or pack carriers—gay, reckless fellows who knew the secrets of the trackless forests, its lakes and rivers for a thousand miles or more, and were in consequence less under the authority of the Church than the home-staying farmers of the parishes. Then again there were a few merchants, lawyers, tradesmen and such-like in the towns of Quebec and Montreal, each of which contained about 6000 souls, as well as in Three Rivers, a smaller town midway between them. There was scarcely any education except that given in the Church seminaries and convents to the boys and girls of the higher classes and to a few girls of the lower sort.

Such in brief outline was the country, vast in area but trifling in population, that fell to Britain in 1760, or more strictly speaking at the Treaty of Paris in 1763. It extended vaguely from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains, to whose very feet these adventurous French Canadians had even then pushed the foremost of their widely stundered trading posts and missions. New France had not regarded her sphere of influence as extending to the Pacific for the simple reason that the strip beyond the Rocky Mountains, now British Columbia, was out



of reach and merely known to exist. Then, too, there was that great wilderness to the southward of the lakes which the French had tried to seize and about which the war had been fought, behind the British colonies, to-day roughly represented by what the Americans term the Middle West. Down in the far south-west of this again the French territory of Louisiana with the infant city of New Orleans was transferred to Spain and still remained outside our influence, together with the much larger Spanish interests also situated beyond the Mississippi. But these last obstructions to the subsequent advance of the old British colonies were dealt with much later by the United States and do not concern us in these pages.

It is impossible, too, to discourse here upon the many and various Indian nations with which the Canadians had to deal in their wars and alliances, both those close to their settlements and the other far remote tribes among whom they traded and often set up posts and missions. Broadly speaking, the neighbouring Iroques group, bravest, cleverest, and most formidable of all and generally known as the 'Five' or the 'Six Nations,' had been their only consistent foes and at the same time the only firm friends of the English. They occupied the back country of New York, to the south of Lake Ontario, so had been always in touch with both Dutch and English, who provided them with arms and traded freely with them to the detriment of the French.

Champlain, in the early days of Canada, had made relentless enemies of the allied tribes by espousing the cause of the Indian nations to the northward whom the Iroquois had always beaten in war, and thus the tradition became fixed of their hostility to the French and friendship for the English, who did more trade with them and could sell them goods on easier terms. Their action indeed was of immense importance to both. The slackness of the British colonists and the English failures at the beginning of the war had almost driven over the Six Nations to the French. But that able Anglo-Irish colonist, Sir William Johnson, with an unrivalled influence over them, secured their neutrality

and a trifle more, and they were now thankful enough that they had not deserted their old friends and the winning side. But nearly all the other Indian nations, both those in Canada proper and those scattered throughout the wild remote West, witnessed the English victory with regret.

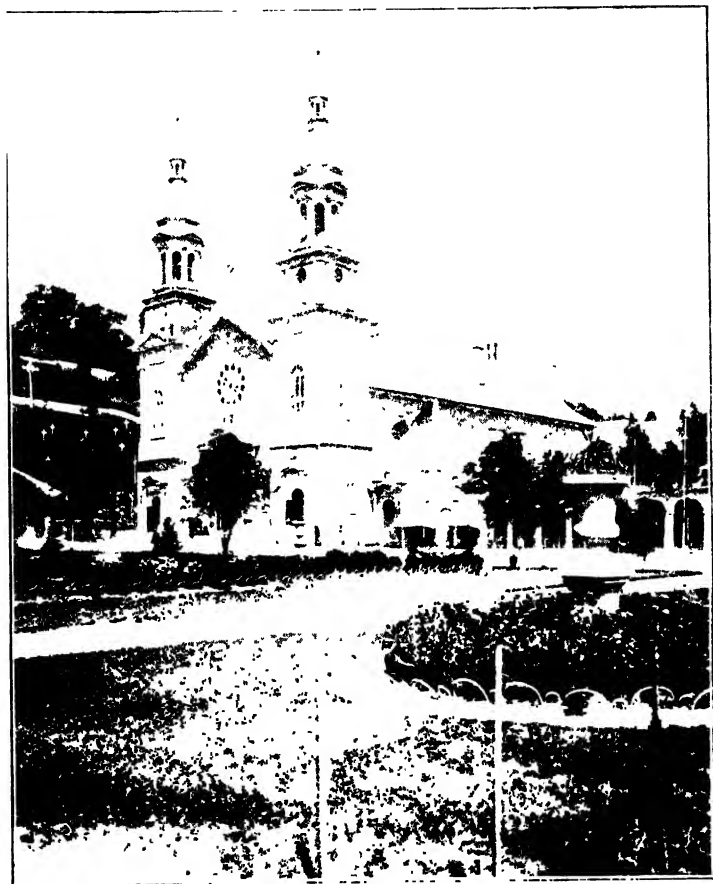
All the distant posts, Niagara, Detroit, and others as remote as Lakes Michigan and Superior, now saw the French flag hauled down, the British ensign hoisted in its place, and a small company of redcoats installed as a garrison. The French traders at all these posts, as was only natural, sedulously fanned the old embers of hostility to the English, assuring the savages that their Father Onontio, that is the French King, was quite certain to return at an early date with a great army and drive out the intruders. This caused for many years much trouble to the English Government. For these lonely posts, some of which are now flourishing cities, were distant by many weeks of toilsome journey from Montreal and Quebec.

In the treaty of 1763 the two little rocky islands St. small and worthless as they were intrinsically, mattered as it so turned out a great deal, were the only fragments of North America left to France. Lord Chatham and his government went out of office before peace was made. An enormous debt had been piled up, but not in vain, for Great Britain had never before reached such a pinnacle of power and glory. Chatham, however, was not even yet satisfied, and bitterly assailed the terms of peace. But the young King George III, with Bute and the Tories, thought otherwise, and the latter being now in power signed a treaty, which the other party protested, and with justice, was not sufficiently advantageous considering the position we had won not only in America but in the Indies and elsewhere. But as regards North America, seeing that Florida was given up to England by Spain, who had been not altogether willingly among our enemies, the only justifiable cause of outcry was provided by the treatment of the two little Newfoundland islands. France

held out strongly for these and certain fishing rights to be associated with them as necessary to her domestic welfare while of no political import. The peace party professed to scent no danger in this apparently small concession. Chatham and the old war party, however, protested loudly, prophesying that these two islands, a centre of French trade and fishing rights on our coast, would be a continual cause of future trouble. And they were right. For the Newfoundland fishing question has been a thorn in the side of that colony and a frequent cause of friction between England and France to this very day. But in truth the young King and his advisers were anxious to get to work at that new domestic policy which proved disastrous and demoralising and may be briefly indicated as a strengthening of the royal prerogative. A last word of reminder, too, seems necessary that through all these changing scenes a great English fur trading company had been seated far to the north on the bleak shores of Hudson's Bay since the late seventeenth century. Utterly removed from any part of habitable America, one might think that the Hudson's Bay posts would at least have remained unmolested. But the French Canadians by sea and land in daring fashion had more than once inflicted upon them serious damage. Now, however, from the Gulf of Mexico to the Arctic Circle, Great Britain was at last supreme. We shall see how in less than two decades this fine fabric was all shattered.

Its promised privileges secured by the royal assent to the Treaty, and well administered by just English Governors, Canada went on for a time in perfect harmony. There seemed no prospect then of British or British American settlers desiring to enter the country. As regards agricultural settlement, present or prospective, Canada at that day included only the province of Quebec. No English-speaking Protestant in his senses, with all North America to choose from, would have selected a province not in itself very fertile, conspicuous for its long and rigorous winter, and occupied by a French Roman Catholic population.

So England governed Canada mainly with a view to the well-being and prospective loyalty of the French Canadians.



ST. ANNE DE BEAUFORT, NEAR QUÉBEC

The latter wanted neither votes nor parliaments, nor did they even know what such things meant. They were quite content with the seigniorial land system that they were accustomed to, and almost its only burden, the 'corvée,' was abolished by the British. They were attached to their priests and loved their religion and went on paying tithes

gladly as before, while the British officers got on in private life with the French seigneurs and their sort extremely well. There was considerable difficulty as time went on in adjusting a mixture of French and English law to the colony, though the Canadians preferred some features of our code to their own; but there was no intense feeling about it. The only real trouble, strange to say, came from the British traders who had settled in Quebec and Montreal after the conquest. They were mostly from New England, and from old habit had as hearty a dislike for the French Canadians and their ways as the latter had for them. They were, moreover, extremely bigoted Protestants and deeply resented the concession of their religion to the Canadians and hated the quasi-aristocratic land-system, though, as merchants, little affected by it. They had fully expected an elective assembly to be set up in Canada in which only Protestants might sit, for the English code of those days withheld political rights from Roman Catholics. These four or five hundred merchants and traders, in short, expected to rule the unfortunate Canadian people and no doubt coerce the Governor as they had so often done in the old American colonies. The English authorities at Quebec and at home scouted their pretensions, while the French Canadians, who disliked them and they were not as a body a good type of their class, thoroughly enjoyed their discomfiture, all of which things increased their irritation. But they continued to appeal to the throne for an elective assembly (composed of themselves), compulsory Protestantism all round, and proffered other amiable suggestions of like kind for attaching the French Canadians to the Crown. These people proved in the coming troubles a very serious menace to the safety of Canada. In the meantime the American colonies were delighted to get permanently relieved of the constant menace of their French neighbour. Those of them who had not before realised what this might mean had had their eyes opened by the long fight she had made against disciplined British armies. When the Treaty of Paris was being discussed in England before its settlement

there were a great many people both in and out of Parliament who wished to restore Canada to France and to retain instead the French West India Island of Guadaloupe. Such an exchange to modern notions seems an incredible proposition. But it was by no means so then, for two excellent reasons. To take the lesser one first, Guadaloupe was a fertile tropical island that produced such crops as sugar, cotton, cocoa, tobacco and spices, which could not be grown in Britain, and in those days foreign colonies of the same kind were closed to us, inevitably in time of war and very often in time of peace, by the trade laws of their nation. Many English statesmen preferred this type of colony where a few rich white men supplied the Mother Country with tropical products grown by slave labour to temperate farming countries like most of the North American provinces, which sent nothing like so much food stuff proportionately to England and were often inclined to manufacture for themselves, and above all tempted settlers away from the Mother Country. For it must be remembered that Great Britain then had only about twelve million people instead of forty as now, and that she was constantly fighting several other nations at the same time, some of them more populous than herself. Men were therefore valuable for all purposes at home. Canada, moreover, was looked on as a poor and unproductive country; and, indeed, outside the fur trade its exports were microscopic.

But the greatest objection of this party to retaining Canada was the fear that when the French had been removed the American colonists would feel, as they increased in strength, that our protection was less necessary to them than formerly, and would cut adrift at the first misunderstanding. Many foreigners thought so too. The French who knew America consoled themselves for their defeat by this reflexion, and they were all, as it proved, absolutely right, and even more quickly justified than they could possibly have expected to be. But this minority in England was easily overborne. The triumph and glory of the moment, as well as the feelings

of the colonists who made naturally greater manifestations of

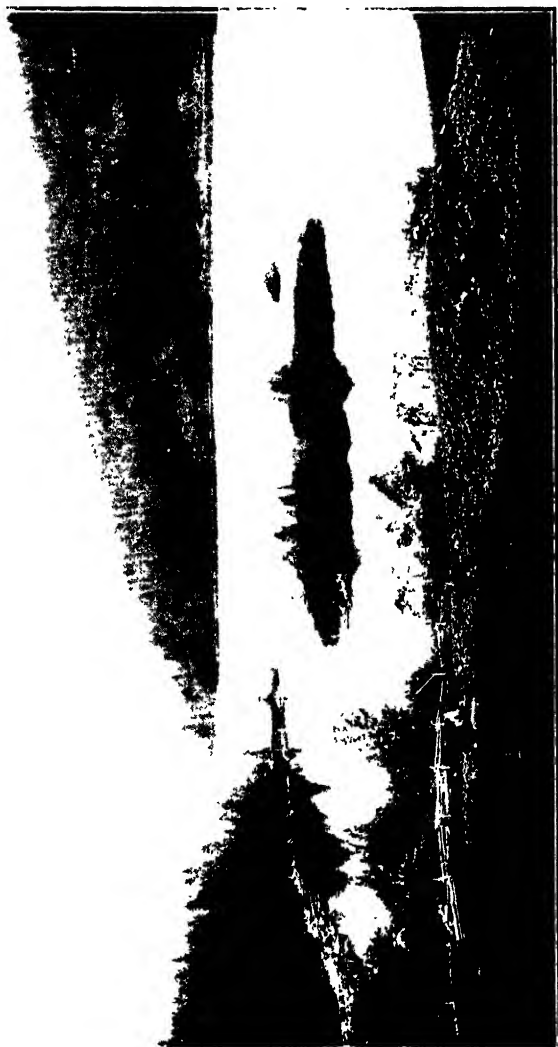


loyalty than they had ever made before, were altogether

too strong. Furthermore, the party for retaining Canada had very good practical reasons to urge. What ! said they, is it likely that all these separate provinces who have never been able to agree or combine together for any single purpose—not even in defence against their sworn foes, the French—will ever achieve a sufficiently solid union to defy the power of Britain ? And indeed to most people this seemed unanswerable. But the retort was forthcoming. Not to-morrow, perhaps ; but in thirty, forty, or fifty years their population will be nearly as large as our own—for the future populousness of North America was even then accurately conjectured. Moreover, what foreign power, hostile to England, would not jump at the chance of assisting them ? It is remarkable that none of those, either colonists or Englishmen, who scoffed at the idea of future independence mentioned colonial loyalty as a reason. Indeed, there was very little of what we understand by the term and of the kind felt by Canada or Australia to-day, and such, it must be confessed, as the French Canadians then felt for France. This was no one's fault. England had let her colonies go their way on certain conditions. They had thriven amazingly, but the lives of their people had not greatly conduced to patriotism of any kind, being by circumstances generally narrowed down to their personal and local concerns. They felt an affection for their native province, but none whatever for the others, while the term 'Americans' had, of course, no significance of this kind at all. There were, of course, many exceptions ; but to the majority, England was a distant, rather shadowy, though necessary and familiar fact, and there was scarcely a glimmering of what we call Imperial pride. The recent war had stirred up something of it, to be sure, but it soon evaporated when their share of the bill, or rather the trifle of it debited to them, was presented.

Now, after the war, it was fully recognised both by England and the colonies that a permanent military force must be maintained in America. It was felt that France would certainly not sit down for very long under the tremendous humiliation just inflicted on her, and would surely endeavour, when the

opportunity came, to vent her natural wrath on the rich American seaboard. A strong fleet—in days of sailing-ships



at least—was not in itself alone a sure defence; at any rate, till it had succeeded in destroying that of the enemy. Besides this, all the French-sympathising Indian natives of the West

had to be reckoned with. Already at the peace the greatest and fiercest Indian conflict ever waged, known as Pontiac's War, was raging in the West, and the necessity for regular troops was made painfully manifest. So, vain endeavours were again made to persuade the colonies into some scheme of military union for their own defence. They fully admitted the necessity and their obligations. But their quite extraordinary mutual jealousies on half a dozen vital matters made all such efforts hopeless. Ten thousand men was the minimum force agreed upon by all concerned as compatible with the security of the country. The British Government, who had generously repaid as a free gift much of the money expended in the late war by the more active colonies, now asked for contributions in money from each one to maintain the garrison necessary for their general safety.

Great Britain had always undertaken to protect her colonies with her fleet, and in war with her armies; in return for which the colonies submitted to certain close trade arrangements with her. This was the custom of all colonising nations, and it answered on the whole extremely well for both parties. A motherless, defenceless colony in those days would have been gobbled up instantly by France, Spain, or even Holland, while the British taxpayer would not have paid a farthing for the defence of a colony that was of no commercial profit or strategic value. The reader must be quite clear that there was no sense of injustice felt by any sane colonist on this point—nor was there any. Speaking roughly, England charged a tariff on all imports from foreign countries, and let those of her colonies in free, or at a less duty, furnishing the colonies in return with all the manufactured goods they needed. What foreign European goods the colonies required had to be shipped through England, the duty there paid being in part refunded to the colonial buyer. This is much too large and complicated a subject for us here; and the system was moreover liable to constant alteration in detail to suit changing circumstances. But such, roughly, was the situation then

regarded as quite equitable by all parties. There was, however, any amount of smuggling in the colonies, among unprincipled men merely anxious to make money, who raised a great outcry when they found their illicit cargoes occasionally seized by British revenue ships and officers. The rancour of such men for such reasons, though it turned thousands of American colonists against the British Crown, had nothing whatever to do with the rights or wrongs of the great quarrel now impending, and was not admitted as a reason for rebellion, much as it helped it, by any responsible revolutionist.

To return for the moment to the urgent question of garrisoning North America. The sorely burdened British taxpayer would assuredly not hear of paying for the maintenance of 10,000 troops to be a guarantee in peace time for nearly three million almost untaxed prosperous Americans against their own Indians and possible French or Spanish hostility. 'Are they only Englishmen,' said Soame Jenyns of the Board of Trade, 'when they solicit our protection, and not Englishmen when taxes are required to enable this country to protect them?' England had incurred an enormous debt, and the people of the North American colonies were by far the greatest gainers by the victories achieved mainly by her fleets and armies: victories which had given them the undisturbed free run of practically half a continent in place of an insecure or at least harassed tenure of a narrow fringe along the sea coast. No one on either side, as I have said, disputed this, or denied that the colonists should relieve to a just extent the British taxpayer who had bled so freely in the achievement of these results. The English Government did honestly try every means to obtain the co-operation of the colonies in raising the money which the colonies themselves continued loudly to protest they ought to and would pay, but only at their own time and in their own way. But their 'time' and their 'way' was an ancient and weary tale, as frankly futile in the eyes of colonial as of British statesmen, and in the meanwhile the matter was felt to be urgent. The British

taxpayer was beginning to ask what sort of people these were that took everything and gave nothing. But the colonies really meant well; it was their hopeless system—so far as concerted action went—and their jealousy lest one province should give a sixpence less than its neighbour, which produced the deadlock. Then, again, colonies like Massachusetts, which had exerted themselves to help Great Britain in the late war, justly considered and urged that others like Maryland and Pennsylvania and Rhode Island, who had shirked and done little or nothing, should, now that the great end was achieved, make up for their deficiencies by a larger payment. But people who would not help in an acute crisis were not likely to unbutton their pockets when all visible danger had passed away.

George III and his Ministers are sometimes represented in even our own history books as wantonly taxing the American for England's benefit. This, of course, is utter nonsense. They were really at their wits' end for a way out of a dilemma which was none of their making—the British taxpayer on one side demanding that the Americans should at least contribute the comparatively trifling sum which was to be expended on themselves; the Americans admitting the justice of this, but doing nothing towards raising the money, and likely to continue doing nothing. Then the British Government made its first great error.

Now the trade arrangements already spoken of between Britain and her colonies, known as 'the Navigation Laws,' of course involved certain taxes, though levied indirectly—that is to say, on goods entering the ports. British officials at American ports saw or tried to see these laws enforced and the dues, which were expended in the province, properly collected. But this was known as 'external taxation,' and, as I have said, was part of the old system thoroughly accepted by all parties. But all ordinary taxes, which we may here call internal, the colonists had always claimed the right of levying themselves through their separate legislatures, as Englishmen levy them through the House of Commons. Since they were not represented at

Westminster, they denied the right of Westminster to tax



GEORGE III

them. This denial may appear to the modern Englishman a simple truism; but as applied to that period it was nothing of

the kind. On the contrary it raised a most intricate question that had never been seriously tested, and was capable of being twisted into almost any shape. But the mass of the colonists were not equipped for such considerations, and interpreted their claim as an inalienable right.

The best minds in England, and even in the colonies, differed among themselves as to the constitutional justification of the policy now followed, though a majority thought it ill advised. But the Ministry had to act in some way, for either the British or the American taxpayer had to pay for the internal defence of America; and so was passed, through a thinly attended House of Commons, the ever-famous *Stamp Act*. It was a small thing in itself--and in familiar use with us and elsewhere--requiring all written agreements and such-like in the colonies to have a stamp of a certain value affixed. Nor had the nature of the impost itself any significance; but nevertheless it was 'taxation without representation,' and when enforced raised a perfect storm throughout the colonies, and no little actual resistance. The tax was estimated to produce, including the West Indies, which would pay nearly half, about £80,000. The contribution, therefore, of the North American provinces would furnish about one-fourth of the cost of their garrisons. The obnoxious tax was soon afterwards withdrawn--a concession gratefully acknowledged by the Moderates. But half the mischief was done. Hundreds of heated speeches and pamphlets were flying about. The American colonists, even then more influenced by pertervid oratory than Englishmen, were lashing themselves into the notion that the British Government cherished malignant designs of heavily taxing the colonies for England's benefit. This we know was ridiculous; but they didn't, and the masses were persuaded that George III was a 'tyrant' determined to 'enslave' them. There were great numbers of sensible, well-informed colonists who sincerely regarded this question of internal taxation as a matter of religion, together with others, as at all such times, glib of tongue, who merely saw in the agitation a road to popularity and success.

The colonial legislatures discussed the question upon the whole with moderation, but positively denied the right of the British Parliament to impose taxes on them. The House of Commons made it, of course, a party question, and rival leaders hurled denunciations at one another's heads. The Whigs praised the colonies to the skies, for resisting taxation, in impassioned language, sometimes sincere, sometimes only wielding the colonial grievance as a stick with which to beat the Tories. The great Crown lawyers pronounced such taxation legal. The King, who took a very active part in politics and was really of a well-meaning and kindly though obstinate and reactionary nature, had no wish to bully the colonies, but only to show them that he was not to be flouted in the exercise of what his advisers assured him—and he honestly believed—were the rights of the Crown, acting through Parliament, and strongly backed up his Ministers. Our ancient and glorious Constitution is not a written document. This fact has given rise from time to time to considerable and even acute differences of opinion and to situations in which able men have held quite opposite views in the matter of its interpretation. So it was at the American revolution. The Tories held one opinion, the Americans another together with the English Whigs; some of these in all sincerity, some merely as party men. So the Government after a time, and very unwisely, experimented again with some trifling taxes on the Americans, merely as establishing their right and not with any ulterior designs on the colonial pocket.

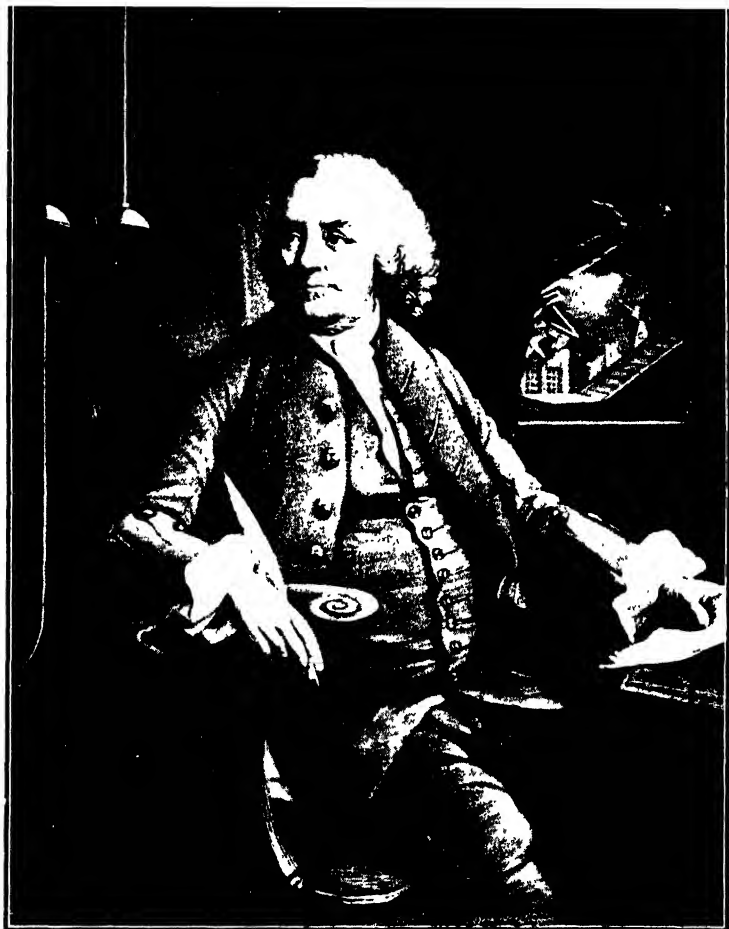
But the Americans almost unanimously saw only the thin edge of the wedge. It was not tyranny, says a well-known American writer, but the anticipation of tyranny (most certainly never contemplated) that so greatly excited the colonists. Agitation increased, governors and officials were flouted. Some colonies and some districts were more violent than others, some classes of people more moderate in expression than the rest; but nearly all protested, and the organised boycotting of English goods was widely subscribed to. Shiploads of tea sent to Boston under certain unpopular conditions were flung into the harbour, to which

the Government retorted by closing the port to all commerce.¹ Riots, meetings, revolutionary speeches, filled the country. The troops acting as police in different places were insulted or maltreated, and all moderate Americans grew alarmed. But the Government could not now, or thought it could not, draw back without giving its whole case away. Things went from bad to worse. There were bloody combats here and there between the troops and the people, and though addresses of loyalty went to the King, they utterly rejected the principle of taxation. The King and his Ministers, however, felt their honour at stake, and would not yield, nor indeed did they believe in any prolonged resistance. News, moreover, travelled with tardy steps in those days, when from two to three months was the average length of an Atlantic voyage. It is quite certain that had there then been an Atlantic cable, or even steam communication, there would have been no revolution, while the state of feeling in America would have been better understood in England; though how the burning question of the defence of the country would have been settled, no historian within my knowledge has attempted to explain.

Benjamin Franklin, in after years, declared that had the colonies united as they should have done for a military peace establishment and scheme of defence, the revolution might have been deferred for two or three generations, or even a century. For their invincible torpor in this respect, not any hastily pressed demand for a contribution towards the huge expenses of the late war, brought up the fatal question of taxation which kindled innumerable other logical and equitable observances into fancied grievances. It was very easy too to call a naval officer doing his duty in overhauling an illicit cargo a 'King's hireling,' but it had neither more nor less sense than any other term of opprobrium in popular use towards the agents of the law by those who live by evading

¹ These cargoes of tea, by an arrangement with the East India Company, whereby they could be sold in America in spite of the tea tax (one of those just instituted) at a very low price, were shipped to the chief American ports, but refused at all.

it. One difficulty arose out of the more energetic administration of her Empire by Great Britain. The sympathy



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

with smuggling had become so strong that convictions became unattainable in the local courts, and the Government were compelled to set up tribunals of their own that left no such escape for the red-handed offender. Great Britain had either to enforce her trade laws or throw up her whole

colonial system. 'You have brought it on yourselves,' said a famous Rhode Island lawyer to his audience. 'If England is to stop this illicit trade she has no choice.'

Nor had she. To go to a vast naval expense for the protection of colonies that were free to trade with all the world would have seemed midsummer madness in those days in any country, and even in any colony; yet the popular sympathy, born of self-interest, with smuggling, which made its suppression by juries impossible, forced Great Britain to protect herself in the only possible way. And the discontent thus engendered was a strong, though quite unworthy and hopelessly illogical factor in influencing public opinion against the Mother Country. The separate colonies that had hitherto shown such an incapacity for union, under the bogey of outside taxation, and the passions aroused in a large section of their people, now showed an alarming tendency to draw together. The French War, for one thing, had brought soldiers of the different colonies together, and taught them something of one another. The reader may possibly think it strange that their further comradeship for six years with the British troops had not generally bred some mutual liking. On the contrary, outside a very small official class and what we should now call 'society' Americans, they and the British by no means approved of each other. The latter appeared proud and supercilious to the ordinary plain American; while he in his turn was democratic, off-hand, and wanting in the deference to which English officers were accustomed. These things in the retrospect all helped to aggravate the situation. At home the Whigs, not altogether to their credit, loudly egged on the Americans. The Tories and a majority of the nation partly disgusted at this, and yet more with a not unnatural indignation that colonies to which their recent expenditure of blood and money had given such renewed life, should refuse, as it appeared, to pay their share, and then turn on the Mother Country for the sake of a trumpery little tax—grew very abusive. Altogether there was a lamentable muddle and an error of judgment in Ministers, which it was perhaps

easier to appreciate afterwards than at the moment. At the same time full credit must be given to that sober and better-informed portion of the Americans who, rather than submit to what they considered an unjust tax, faced the tremendous issues of a struggle with the Mother Country.

It is quite just to say that this in the main was due to the sturdy independence of their English blood, inherited from Saxon ancestors; for neither the foreign nor the very small Irish Catholic element counted for anything in the movement. The large Ulster Protestant community—the most recent comers, settled mostly in the woods along the back of the colonies—were, to a man, against the Crown. But then quarrel with England, already spoken of, was much older than the ‘stamp-tax.’ There were many less worthy malcontents than these, however. The merchants and sailors, for instance, who had flourished by contraband trade, found that business greatly curtailed when at the close of the war England had to set her expanded colonial empire in order, and watch more carefully the leakage in her revenue caused by smuggling. One more cause of offence was given to the colonies, and that as early as the Treaty of 1763, aggravated by the further Act of 1774 for the government of Canada. In this, however, the nobler part indisputably belonged to England. It is curious to find a liberty-loving people, who were actually going to fight over what seemed to some a trifling interference with their affairs, displaying immense indignation because a conquered people, now their fellow-subjects, were to be treated with magnanimity. But so it was, and a great outcry was raised against England because she had conceded their religion, laws, and language to the French Canadians. The New Englanders particularly would have had the Canadians hammered into English-speaking Protestants by main force, and were disgusted that the British Government thought otherwise. They further objected to the aristocratic land system which was left untouched in Canada. It is indisputable that the average American colonist of that day found no small

difficulty in looking at any question otherwise than from his own rather narrow point of view.

Having thus endeavoured to indicate briefly the causes of dispute which rent in twain our colonial empire, we must tear ourselves away from a profoundly interesting subject, and leave the war which ensued as outside the scope of this book, except such part of it as concerned Canada. We left that country settling down to as full a measure of peace and content as could be expected. Since then Sir Guy Carleton, afterwards Lord Dorchester, had come out to Quebec as Governor, one of the ablest, it so proved, that the colony has ever had, which was well, since he was coming at a critical moment. In 1774, after long discussion in Parliament and elsewhere, the Quebec Act for the future government of Canada had been passed. In the ten years since the Treaty of Peace the English officials had gained much experience as to the best methods of government for the Canadians. Yet it has always to be remembered that, contented and even grateful for our treatment of them as they were—unlike then New England neighbours—they had a deep-rooted affection for their Mother Country, indifferently as she had treated them, and would certainly have joined an invading French army as one man. It is neither possible nor necessary to linger here over the details of the Act, as it retained in all important particulars the plans hitherto followed. The country was to be administered by a Governor with an advisory council of leading men, English and French, appointed by the Crown, or in modern parlance as a Crown colony. The British American merchants made fresh outcries at this persistence in governing a French population in the only manner they understood or appreciated, and still importuned King and Governor for an elective assembly in which they practically alone were to have seats. But the higher Canadians stoutly objected to 'popular' government of any sort, while the masses could neither read nor write and cared nothing at all. The latter, however, mainly agricultural, had increased rapidly, and since Quebec and Montreal had become more active



trading towns had profited greatly from the markets thus opened to them. Sir Guy Carleton had taken a warm interest in the French Canadians, and was beloved by them, though naturally disliked for that very reason by the British-American merchants, whose intolerant arrogance he detested. The Stamp Act of 1765, which had raised the first storm in the colonies, hardly affected Canada. But from the time when the Americans began to consider independence the British Canadians mostly sided with them; and when they found that they could not run the new dependency in their own interests began to intrigue with the more advanced Americans for the inclusion of Canada in the coming struggle. They could not of themselves much influence the illiterate masses of French Canadians, since they would have become liable to suspicion and summary treatment from the Government. So a plan was started for flooding the rural districts with glib-tongued American emissaries travelling in the character of pedlars and such-like.

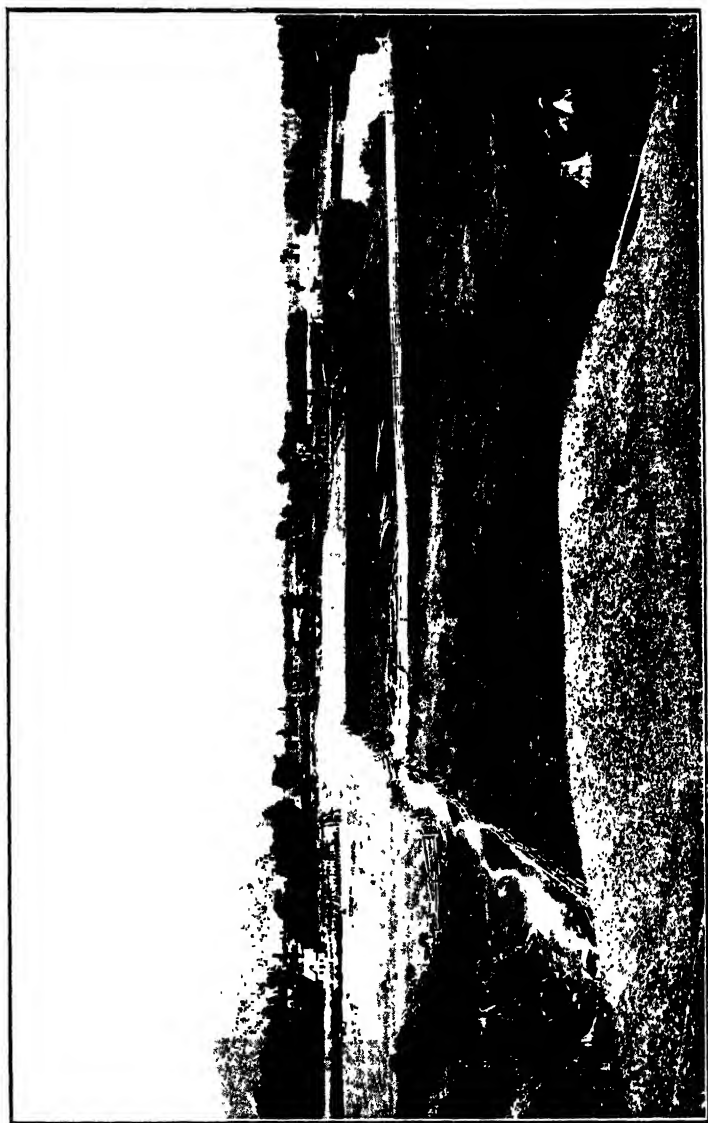
Now it would be impossible in the few lines at our disposal to give the reader any adequate notion of the simplicity and credulity of the French *habitant* of that day. French policy, lay and clerical, had purposely kept him ignorant. The French Government, moreover, had witnessed the continual friction with the authorities which had existed in all these liberty-loving British colonies and took warning by it. This was indeed easy enough, for the French masses of that day had no particle of that political self-governing instinct which is bred in the bone of every Briton. The French-Canadian peasant farmer was absolutely unconscious of what such things even meant. But he had nevertheless, a certain cunning shrewdness, derived from his Normandy and Picardy ancestors, that kept him very much awake to the main chance, though deficient in general knowledge almost beyond belief. The American emissaries set to work upon this weakness with characteristic astuteness. Quietly and stealthily they went from homestead to homestead, and by preposterous fabrications made him believe

that those very laws which England had made, honestly and genuinely, for his well-being, were subtly intended to enslave him. Carleton and his officials, English and French, more than suspected what was going forward, but were powerless to stop it. They found themselves, together with the seigneurs and even the priests, becoming objects of deep and firmly rooted suspicion. It is one of the strangest, nay, most paradoxical situations in all history, but thus it was.

When in 1775 the War of Independence broke out, the first object aimed at by the Americans, as we may now call them, was to seize Canada and force it into line with the other colonies. Carleton, however, was not only a good Governor but an able soldier, who had been a chosen friend of Wolfe and wounded moreover on the Plains of Abraham. He had now scarcely 1000 British troops in the colony, for the Home Government had been slack in following up their unyielding attitude towards America with the proper means to enforce it, while Canada had been quite neglected. Carleton had relied much on the French-Canadian militia, which was organised as of old. His generous treatment of them, their hereditary dislike of the Americans as old enemies and Protestants, together with their soldierly qualities, would ordinarily have been more than enough to guarantee their loyalty and the safety of Canada. But in the autumn of 1775, when a strong force of Americans advanced on the colony and the militia were called out, it was seen how cleverly the American emissaries had done their work. The seigneurs, the better-class townsfolk, and the priests were enthusiastically loyal, but all their influence combined could not bring the rank and file of the militia, with trifling exceptions, into the field, the men refusing point-blank to obey their officers. When very ignorant people are obstinate they are more insensible to reason than any. So Carleton found himself with about a thousand British regulars and a few hundred French gentry and other volunteers as the sole defence of Canada.

The frontier of the country ran, as it still does, a little

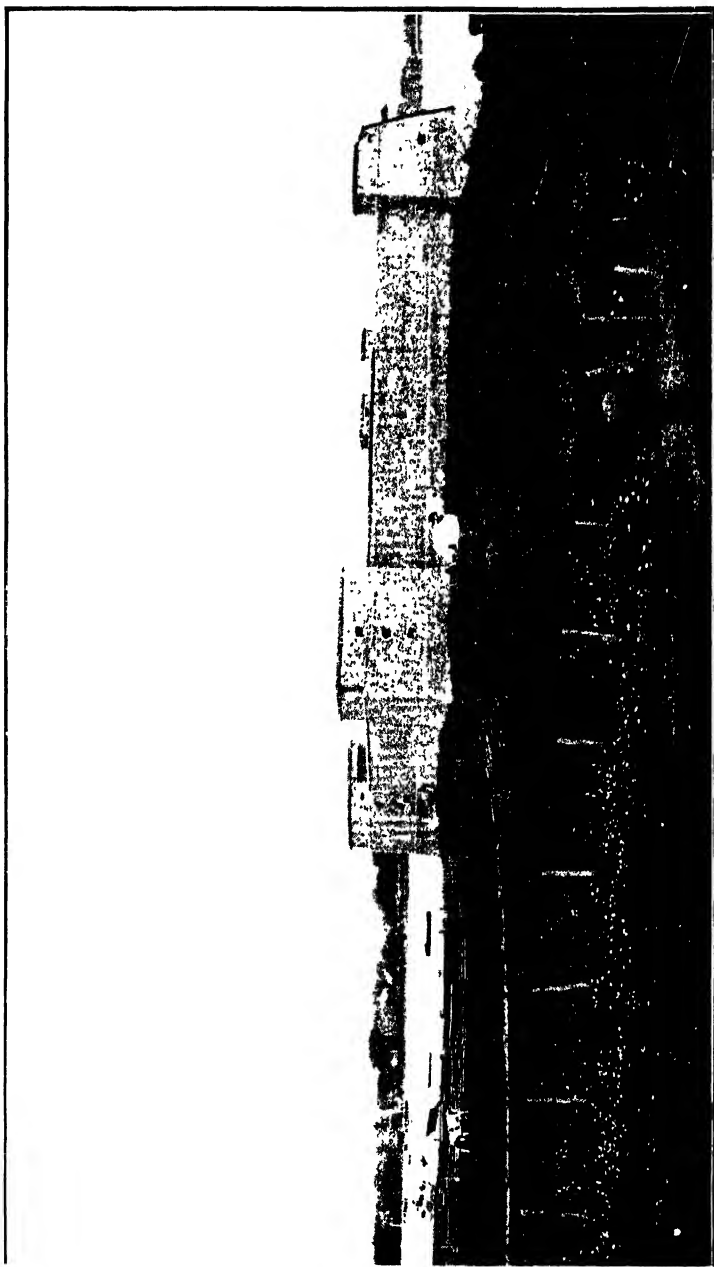
distance south of the St. Lawrence, touching the foot of



Lake Champlain, that regular route to Canada, so famous in the late war, up which the Americans were now approaching.

The two frontier forts of St. John and Chambly absorbed most of Carleton's regulars, and delayed the Revolutionists about a month before they were compelled to surrender. Time was important, so this gave Carleton breathing-space to do what was possible for the defence of the country, which as regards the settled and threatened portion of it at this period meant roughly a line of some 150 miles stretching from Montreal to Quebec, these two places being its only towns and strongholds. The advanced forts, though costing Carleton most of his handful of regulars, had staved off the crisis till November, when winter, the old ally of Canada, was at hand. It was the first year of the war, and the main British armies fighting the Americans were far away at Boston and New York. The British Government, as already noted, had neglected Carleton's entreaties to garrison Canada effectively. As a matter of fact they had underrated the military prowess of the colonists, and in spite of the loss recently inflicted on the British troops storming the works on Bunker's Hill at Boston, our generals acted in a leisurely fashion, as if operating against an enemy they despised and were quite sure of beating. It must be remembered that there were thousands of Americans, particularly in the northern colonies, who had fought in the French war fifteen to twenty years previously with credit as militiamen, and a few with real distinction. Several British officers, too, who had recently settled in America, had espoused the Patriot cause. Above all the Revolutionists had found in Washington both a great man and a great leader. In the former war the 'provincials,' as they were called, had fought under the shadow of the British regulars, and not always on very good terms with them, and though they came to appreciate the importance of the object fought for, they had not been passionately stirred by it.

To the individual man in his daily life the French danger did not seem urgent. Moreover, he felt that England would somehow see him through. Now, however, he fired up like the regular Englishman he was at bottom, and an Englishman, moreover, who by comparison with the original type



had never known control. Convinced in this quarrel that his immediate liberty was threatened, he was another man altogether, and was ready to face what seemed tremendous odds. The higher sort were, as a rule, fighting for a principle, for they knew well that there was no question of 'tyranny' in the ordinary sense at the hands of Great Britain. But the masses took the popular phrase more literally. Great numbers, of course, did not care and did not fight at all, while many objected altogether to the revolution and fought on the King's side—an important element which we shall find presently founding a greater Canada. But the 'Patriots,' as they were called, represented the main body of the Americans under then newly formed 'Congress' from the thirteen colonies and General Washington as Commander-in-Chief. They were desperately anxious to seize Canada at once and make it the 'Fourteenth State.' The Americans who had stoutly abused England for her generosity to 'bigoted and ignorant Papists' now cajoled the Canadians with tremendous proclamations embracing them as fellow-victims of a grinding tyranny and offering them a glorious union with the New Republic.

The educated Canadians treated this with an amused indifference, knowing well what small chance of toleration their religion, laws, and language would have at the hands of puritanical New Englanders. The peasantry did not understand it, but, as we have seen, had been the dupes of cunning emissaries with preposterous stories of the sinister intentions of England, and of what great benefits the American Republic would heap upon them. And the result was seen in the refusal of the militia to march. Carleton, who had even braved unpopularity with his own people in his efforts for the happiness of the Canadian populace, was deeply wounded. The priests, for the only time in Canadian history, were powerless to influence their flocks and to expose the grotesque absurdities with which the minds of these grown-up children had been poisoned. This was the more difficult as the greed inherent in the French peasant blood had been most skilfully excited by

a promised distribution among them of other people's property, the time-honoured trick of the demagogue.



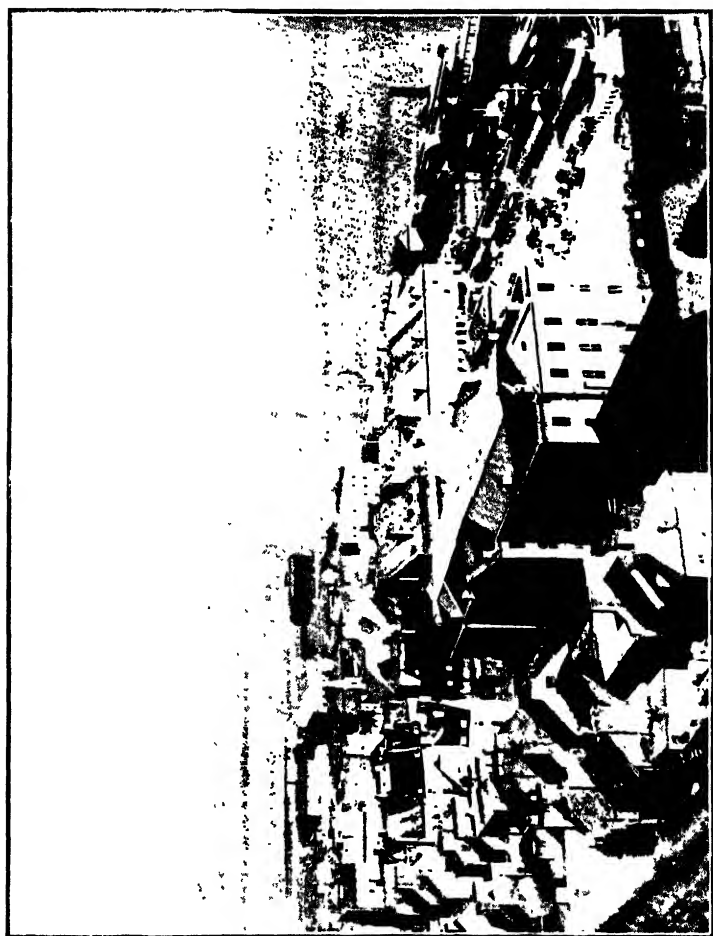
GEORGE WASHINGTON

So Carleton, after a little useless skirmishing, had to abandon Montreal to its fate and make the best of his way to the far more defensible Quebec, travelling himself by night in the canoe of a faithful French *voyageur* lest the

enemy's posts by this time already on the St. Lawrence should capture him. For on Carleton depended almost certainly the fate of Canada. So long, however, as Quebec could be held, Canada was unconquered. The Americans occupied all the rest of the country, and had they completed its conquest, many thousand Canadian militiamen, who were waiting to see which side got the best of it, would have joined them. Quebec might have been held against the British or rendered so troublesome to recapture that for the rest of the war, occupied in recovering many more valuable colonies with seaports always in their own possession, they would not have troubled with it. Then at the peace Canada would have been retained, as a matter of course, by the Americans as the 'Fourteenth State.'

When Carleton reached Quebec he found his officers doing their utmost to prepare for a siege. As the surrounding country was inhabited by the recusant militiamen, there were many disloyal persons within the walls, so Carleton promptly ordered every man capable of bearing arms, who refused to do so, to leave the city within two days. He then saw to the defences and mustered his motley force of citizen soldiers, numbering about twelve hundred, mostly inexperienced volunteers, French and British; these, with three or four hundred regulars, mostly recruits, and the sailors from a few small ships in the harbour, made up a total of about 1600. The Americans had already occupied Montreal and were now marching down on Quebec to the number of about 2000, and led by General Montgomery, a clever, high-spirited man who had formerly been a British officer. Almost simultaneously 700 picked American riflemen appeared from an unexpected quarter on the Plains of Abraham. With great suffering and much endurance they had made a desperate march of three weeks through the then trackless forest wilderness north of New England, and now joined Montgomery's troops. They were led by young Benedict Arnold, a brilliant, dashing New England soldier, of sinister fame in later days as that 'Traitor Arnold' who attempted to betray the American cause to the British.

And now began the last siege of Quebec. Numbers, equipment, everything indeed, was on a small scale compared with the tremendous drama of sixteen years previously—but



almost as much hung on the issue. Winter had come, and the river below the city was thickening its first crust of ice. Montgomery sheltered his army in the suburbs and began pounding the city walls from the Plains of Abraham, till Carleton's better guns soon knocked his batteries out of

time. The American general, however, knowing the feebleness of the garrison, hoped to carry the town by assault, and after several postponements the last night of the year was fixed on for the attempt. Montgomery was to lead a force along the frozen river bank under the cliffs below the Plains of Abraham against the lower point of the city on that side, Arnold and his men to attack another point upon the opposite extremity, while the rest of the force, including some renegade Canadian militia, were to advance between the two along the high plateau where Wolfe and Montcalm had fought, and make a feigned attack on the city walls. About two in the morning, in the teeth of a bitter wind laden with fine snow, Montgomery led his men, single file, from Wolfe's Cove along the rough frozen river bank below the cliff. Arriving at the barrier which guarded the narrow entrance to the city all was pitch dark and silent. Calling to his men to follow, the brave Montgomery and his staff rushed forward, hoping to gain an entrance. Suddenly a battery roared forth into the night, and a hail of grape-shot stretched the General and every man of the little group upon the ground. The troops behind, bewildered and leaderless, fled back into the darkness and were seen no more. About the same time Arnold's division got into the other end of the city, and there was an hour or two of hard fighting, but they were ultimately repulsed, leaving many dead and four hundred prisoners in Carleton's hands. When a British party went out in the morning to the scene of Montgomery's attack, they found a white sheet of new-fallen snow entirely covering the bodies, one hand alone protruding, as it in grim signal of their whereabouts—and that stark hand was Montgomery's. The dead leader was honourably buried within the fortifications of the city by Carleton, and a tablet recently erected preserves the memory of a valiant and honourable man. For though he had worn the King's uniform, this was in effect a civil war and Montgomery had been settled for some time in America. No further attempt on the city was made, but as the Americans possessed the rest of Canada and could send in troops and provisions at

will, the siege was maintained through the whole winter. Carleton's miscellaneous garrison behaved splendidly—French and English, old and young, vied with one another in ceaseless watchfulness, day and night, through the bitter cold winter, animated by their leader's inspiring presence and kindly, confident encouragement. When the St. Lawrence opened in the spring that large force arrived from England which, later on under Burgoyne, was to march south through the rebellious colonies and to come to such disastrous grief at Saratoga. They had, of course, no trouble in driving the Americans out of Canada, and for the remaining six years of the war the colony was only a wary, though often threatened and always anxious, spectator of it.

The Canadian *habitants* found the Americans at close quarters not all they expected, and when their allies began to tender paper money for cattle and flour lost all faith in them; while the Americans on their side despaired of making self-respecting democrats of such illiterate, grasping souls. The Canadian returned, for the time at least, to his faith in his priest and all the other powers put over him, dumbly ashamed of himself for having been made such an egregious fool. His military services, however, were not any more put seriously to the test, and throughout the war he made big prices for his farm products by helping to supply the British troops that passed through or were quartered in Canada, and forgot for the time all about his recent American friends.

Carleton, the ablest British general in North America, through the stupidity of the worst war minister England has ever had, Lord George Germaine, was provoked into resigning his command in disgust in 1777, and General Haldimand, a capable Swiss officer who had distinguished himself in the British service in America, now succeeded him. But nothing worthy of note occurred in the colony while all those momentous events were taking place to the southward, since no further attempt was made at invasion by the Americans, and, happily, Canada remained outside that

federation of colonies to which Great Britain was compelled to grant independence. No sensible Briton or Canadian



BENEDICT ARNOLD

to-day regrets this last achievement. Sooner or later it was inevitable, but none can fail to rejoice that the fortunes of war spared to us what is now the great Dominion of Canada.

CHAPTER V

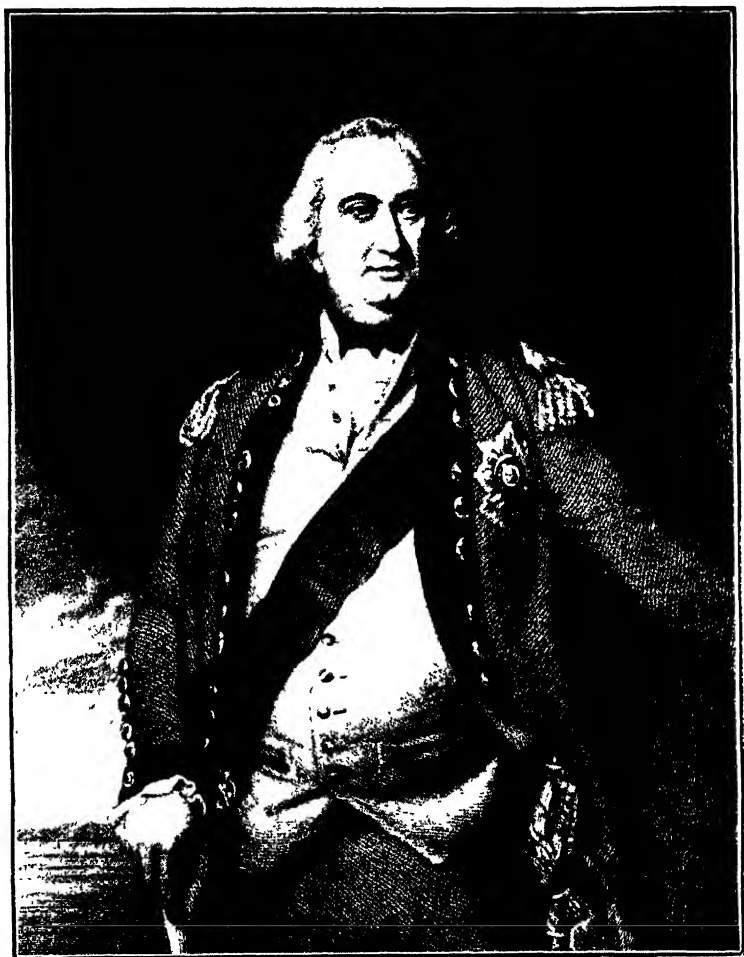
INDEPENDENCE OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES

WHEN the French in 1778 joined forces with the revolted North American colonies against England the proceeding was so natural, and, moreover, so legitimate from their point of view, as between two such frank enemies and rivals, that no grievance could be logically cherished against their nation on that account. With all the military truculence of that day was intermingled a curious chivalry, a capacity for regarding the fortunes of war and the amenities of social life as things apart. Never in the history of Canada, even in these late days when serious friction of any kind is a forgotten thing, have the upper classes of French and English Canadians been on so pleasant a footing as were the conquered seigneurs and officers of that country and the garrison against whom they had struggled so bravely. Never in the whole history of the rivalry between the two countries had Englishmen of position been so widely intimate, so welcomed and admired in Parisian society as in the years immediately following the crushing blow that Chatham dealt the French nation in the Seven Years' War. The military success of the Americans, too, though at this moment waning, had been due in an extraordinary degree to a single man. What Washington meant to that raw confederacy of colonies still constantly sounding the old jarring jealous note, no pen can ever exaggerate. Yet even Washington was beginning to despair when Louis XV, though troubled a little by the democratic flavour of the movement, took what then seemed the obvious and natural course, though in the rebound it smote and helped to destroy his own monarchy and the old *régime* of France.

It is a mere truism to cite Washington as an extraordinary, if opportune, gift of Providence to his country; the man indeed of a century, and at the same time so well endowed by fortune as to be independent of the trammels to which a soldier under such masters with only his sword and his genius would have been subjected. It is not to the purpose that England had at the time an inefficient Ministry, which was the fault of the King, nor altogether true that her generals were also inefficient. Howe, for instance, by far the greatest culprit, was an admirable soldier of proven worth; so much so that his inexplicable failure to crush Washington and his attenuated, half-starved little army in the winter of 1777-1778 must almost certainly be attributed to sympathies which, however legitimate in a country clergyman in England, or in a Whig member of the House of Commons, were utterly excusable in a commander-in-chief. Burgoyne has been the sport of many writers, but he was a keen and clever officer and more the victim of a Minister's historic blunder than even of his own American inexperience, which accounted for the rest of his undoing. If Carleton had not been removed in his favour by the petty spite of Germaine, there might not have been success, but there would have been no Saratoga. Clinton, too, was a good officer, and no one would call Cornwallis, who was largely the victim of circumstances and a passing failure in naval support, anything else. When the latter in 1781 surrendered to an overwhelming American and French force at Yorktown in Virginia, it virtually finished the war. The area of British occupation was reduced to the seaboard towns of New York, Charlestown, and Savannah and their immediate neighbourhood.

When the season of 1782 opened, peace was in the air. Sir Guy Carleton, the only general who had not lost a battle against the Americans, and had been prevented from giving any further proof of his mettle, was now sent out as Commander-in-Chief, with the thankless task of preparing the way for the almost inevitable peace, the terms of which would be of such momentous consequences

to two at least of the three combatants engaged. But of still more immediate interest here is the fact that within



JRN WALLIS

these now circumscribed lines of British occupation and among the more or less disheartened population, military and civil, that filled them, were the founders of British Canada ; those American Loyalists who were to galvanise the reluctant little French community on the St. Lawrence

into a quicker life; and who, themselves the victims of sore necessity, were in ill-assorted partnership with the French Canadians to found the great Dominion we know to-day.

We must not linger here over the many reasons, both subtle and obvious ones, that had divided the Americans themselves into two camps, and when the sword was drawn made irreconcilable foes of old friends and neighbours and rent even families asunder. Whether the purely British and American side of the struggle comes strictly under the head of civil war is a mere academic question, but in connexion with, and alongside of it, one was most assuredly being waged in its most literal and ferocious fashion. The more recent civil war in the United States had little of the domestic or tragic side about it, since it was waged between two distinct sections of the country. But the partisanship of Patriot and Loyalist in 1775-1782 knew neither class nor colony. It was almost everywhere, too, a war to the knife, often maintained in guerrilla fashion independently of the regular contending armies, whose spheres of action might be for the moment hundreds of miles away.

New England, as the backbone of the Revolution, saw least of these miseries: the two Carolinas, as about evenly divided in sympathy and containing a more undisciplined, heady population, suffered most from them. The long duration, too, of the war made faction grow more callous and more vindictive. The sparseness of population over huge areas was only too favourable to the sanguinary performances which disfigured this struggle for political freedom in its backwaters and byways, to an extent which general history touches lightly on, and the half of which lies hidden from the scrutiny even of those who have made that aspect of the war a matter of special study. Both factions took a hand in it, though there is little doubt but that a majority of the population would have remained with thankfulness outside the fray. But with the advent of one army or the other the inevitable oath of allegiance to either the Patriot or the Royal cause made a label of some kind indispensable to

safety. And with the militant local faction uppermost for the time, watching that such professions were acted up to, life became insupportable, when the fortune of war brought up the opposing army with its stern code of fine, fire or plunder, and at the best a fresh oath. These characteristics of most protracted civil wars are only alluded to that the reader may dispossess himself of a too common illusion that the American war was confined to a conflict between a unanimous people and the naval and military forces of Great Britain, and call to mind a fact too often forgotten, that the Loyalists formed a very considerable body in nearly all the colonies, and, what is more to the purpose here, became the founders of Canada.

So at the close of the winter of 1781-1782, when Carleton arrived at New York, he found the city and adjacent lines crowded with unfortunate Loyalist refugees of all ages and both sexes. Besides these, there were the remnants of some twenty regiments which had been raised among the loyal colonists, had fought through the war, and were still in the King's pay. The situation of these people, both here and on a smaller scale at Charlestown and Savannah, was deplorable. The complete triumph of the Mother Country was their only hope, and the prospect of that had grown dim indeed. Most of them had been as much opposed to the policy which provoked the war as the revolutionists themselves; but they included a large element of the educated and property-holding class who had nothing to gain by a social upheaval, and held that a probably unsuccessful war—for who could have foreseen Washington?—was not justified by technical encroachments on their liberties that the next Whig Ministry would most certainly reverse: while even a dearly bought independence, maintained, as it seemed likely to be, on the sufferance of the great European powers, was not worth the price of its achievement. The moral and conscientious aspect of allegiance, too, had not in those days been wholly discarded, and decided many whose situation or position compelled them to take one side or the other. Some of course merely embraced what they thought would

be the winning side. But on the whole it was more immediately risky, and required more courage to be a Loyalist than to be a Patriot; and as no reproach is any longer attached to such a procedure, even by the most biassed American historians and never could have been by any other, it will be seen that the founders of Canada were no ordinary haphazard group of pioneers but largely men of character, as in many cases they were men of distinction. But their successful opponents of that day did not think so. Passion had blinded their eyes to all reason and deprived them of all sense of justice and equity.

Those who were prevented by age, sex, or circumstances from escaping to some British camp or joining a Loyalist corps, were subjected to treatment that ranged from petty persecution to the most barbarous personal ill-treatment and even death. It is only fair to say that these precedents which were established by the Patriot party quite early in the war were met by reprisals of a like nature, when the tide of fortune temporarily turned upon the scene of their performance. It will be enough that for the moment all hope of regarding each other with anything approaching tolerance had disappeared. The Loyalists had abandoned their estates, their homes, their employments—in short, all their belongings—without a hope now of recovering anything but by the ultimate victory of the British or by a peace of a nature so stringent regarding their rights as they scarcely dared to hope for.

Huddled together, some eighty or hundred thousand in number, in the three coast towns which alone flew the British flag, the Loyalists were now in very truth between the devil and the deep sea. Through the whole of the year 1782 both armies by tacit consent refrained from serious movement, and lay watching each other, while negotiations for a settlement proceeded in Europe. The inclusion of France in the matter made these more difficult and protracted. She naturally expected to get something substantial out of a successful war, but a smashing defeat of her fleet by Rodney in the West Indies in April complicated matters no little.

However, a Whig Government was now ready enough to put an end to a war of which the nation was heartily sick.



News reached Carleton in August that the recognition of Independence was decided upon, the question of the Loyalists, or 'Tories' as they were called in America, being the only obstacle to a settlement. The American delegates were as relentless on this point as the rank and file were vindictive. The French pleaded for the Loyalists in vain.

though pointing out that as their assistance had secured the victory they were entitled to a voice in the disposal of the vanquished. The honour of the British Crown, too, was deeply concerned for the men who had lost everything in its defence.

Nothing availed, however, and it became more and more evident that this national obligation would have to be discharged by the national purse. The utmost that could be wrung out of Congress was a promise to recommend a reasonable attitude towards the Tories to the different States. Whatever slight consolation this may have conveyed to English Ministers, to the hapless Loyalists who knew their men it brought none whatever, and they prepared to face the worst, which was in fact a blank; for most of them had nowluther to go and no conceivable place of refuge, and were moreover stripped of practically everything but the clothes upon their backs.

The Treaty of Peace was actually signed early in 1783; but its conditions, known some time before, rang down the curtain upon the last Loyalist hopes which had for long been maintained at a more sanguine pitch than the probabilities warranted. To the last they could not believe that the British Government would, as they termed it, throw them over. But this was not a fair or just view of the situation, though every allowance must be made for people in such desperate straits. The Government, including the King himself, had done everything in their power to obtain terms for them. The only alternative was to continue the war, and thus the nation would not consent to. All through the war Loyalist refugees in small numbers had been finding their way to Canada as a temporary harbourage rather than as a new home, and Haldimand, the Governor, had made provision for their support in the neighbourhood of Montreal. But the seaports were the chief points of refuge, and throughout the years 1781 and 1782 these people continued to flock into New York. Savannah and Charlestown being successively vacated, a fresh influx arrived at this one surviving bit of British soil, though the greater part of these southern

refugees were conveyed to Florida, still British territory, and the West Indies, including a good number of negro slaves who had either accompanied their masters or run away from plantations upon their own initiative. But this movement proved unsatisfactory. Tropical countries require capital, and were equally ill adapted to the ruined planter and the white labourer. A certain number of the higher sort had betaken themselves to England, only to experience disappointments which are pathetically set forth in their correspondence. Unlike the West Indians, few Americans of that day, as already mentioned, had any acquaintance with England. Those Loyalists who now expected sympathy or assistance there met only with what seemed to them the cold shoulder. That the self-absorbed current of English social life, with its gaieties and occupations, went on precisely the same as if the war which was the tragedy of their own lives and threatened, as they thought, the Mother Country itself with ruin had no existence, struck them with pained surprise. They were shocked, too, to find English Whigs rejoicing in the defeats of their own armies, as well as mortified by what seemed the supercilious attitude of the Briton towards the inhabitants of those colonies which had so much contributed to the justification of his national complacency. They were homesick, slighted as they thought, and altogether miserable, while their supplies of money went faster than did the slow drag of the war, to a conclusion differing sadly from that which their fond hopes had always pictured.

But New York was the great rendezvous of that melancholy multitude who had now no hope but exile. Clinton's heart had bled for the ever-swelling crowd of unfortunates, and now Carleton, his successor, declared in his dispatches that the misery of these refugees, many of them persons of the best estate and the first consequence, cut him to the quick. Every day he had to listen to piteous appeals from the widow, the orphan, the aged and the sick. There was no pity even for such from their former neighbours, who had in very many cases plundered them unblushingly of

every movable they possessed. The estates of active Loyalists had been escheated by Congress for the benefit of the war chest, which as a temporary measure, though harsh, was neither immoral nor irregular. But Congress found itself forestalled in innumerable cases by deserving patriots who had already helped themselves and could neither be persuaded nor compelled to disgorge. So the reinstatement of the Loyalist under reasonable penalties as in the English civil war of the preceding century was not merely impossible, owing to the vindictive feelings of the people, but complications of a most awkward kind, unnecessary to detail, would have made his return to his old neighbourhood doubly unpopular. One method of practical confiscation had been adopted towards the milder, non-combatant, stay-at-home Loyalists, namely the infliction of fines beyond their power to pay on demand, at a period when money was abnormally scarce. Their property was then put up to auction and for the same reason frequently sold for the price of the fine.

It had been realised for some time by the British Government that the only possible place of refuge for the Loyalists was some unoccupied British territory. The tropics being unsuited to their circumstances, Nova Scotia offered the obvious alternative. Newfoundland, even if just tolerable, as a farming country was immeasurably inferior. Canada presented many difficulties which for the moment seemed unnecessary to grapple with, since Nova Scotia, with equally good soil, a rather less rigorous climate, and more accessible situation, offered at the same time a large and practically virgin field for the experiment. A few words, therefore, on the previous history of this province now become imperative and will be in order here, just before its second and true founding by the American Loyalists.

It will be remembered that as Acadia it was first occupied at the same period as Canada by small parties of French and English successively. To trace the struggles of these adventurers, who under liberal paper grants from their respective monarchs for most of the seventeenth century kept in turn a faint hold on a fringe of Nova Scotia and the

present New Brunswick, then included under the former designation, is not necessary. Though banded backward and forward in treaties it may almost be considered a 'no-man's-land' for that whole period.

Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling, a favourite of James I and Secretary for Scotland, with a colony of his countrymen kept a definite hold of the country for a time, gave it its present name, and instituted the order of Nova Scotian baronets who under something like compulsion paid money down for large grants of wilderness which they never saw and never touched. The most noteworthy feature of this epoch was the nominal attachment of the vaguely held province to the Kingdom of Scotland, a shadowy indication as it might almost seem of the real power Scotland was afterwards to become, as a partner with England, in her oversea enterprises of later days. But to shorten a story that is in detail continuously picturesque, but as a whole of slight importance, Acadia or Nova Scotia acquired a French character so far as its sparse European population was concerned; and when after being recognised as an appanage of the French Crown for a generation or two it was formally made over to England by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, there were less than a thousand French settlers upon its soil, and all of these upon the western coast, chiefly about the Bay of Mines.

But of far-reaching import was the assignment to France by the same treaty of Cape Breton Island, that north-eastern corner of Nova Scotia cut off from its mainland by a narrow strait. Here arose the powerful and strongly fortified seaport town of Louisbourg with its natural harbour from which France commanded the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the adjoining seas; an important base of her military, naval, and commercial influences, which came to be known as the 'Dunkirk of the North.' Incidentally, too, Louisbourg, with the help of political priests from Canada, was instrumental in keeping Acadie, as they still called it, French in race and sympathies. Great Britain's ownership was almost nominal and solely represented by a military

commander and a few troops in one or two forts. The



LORD STIRLING

Indians of the province were the fierce Micmacs and Abenakis, entirely attached to the French interest.

Till the war just preceding the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle and the final struggle with France for North America, nothing had happened ; a small but increasing population of peaceful Acadian peasants led primitive lives within a limited radius, nominally British subjects and only too glad to be left to their own innocent devices and the benign indifference of the Government and its small garrison. Louisbourg, however, as a maritime station became extremely troublesome to the New Englanders, and in 1745 during the earlier Anglo-French War a strong expedition of volunteers from Boston, aided by a British flotilla, created a thrill of surprised exultation in England at a moment of depression by the unexpected capture of the great French fortress with its town and garrison. It was a fine performance achieved by regular siege and assault. Its importance was emphasised by the great consequence attached by the French to the restoration of Cape Breton at the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, a point which, to the disgust of all those familiar with the politics of the North Atlantic, was conceded by the British Government. This unfortunate restoration left a valuable British province to be dominated by an enemy always looking forward to its recovery and in consequence keenly interested in preserving its French flavour and sympathies by any and all means. British settlement in this our own territory was consequently impossible. With Louisbourg, on whose fortifications a million sterling was being spent, on its one side, the Indians in the French interest everywhere roaming the virgin forests, and on the west the Acadians goaded by unscrupulous political priests with threats of damnation here and hereafter into an antagonism they had no natural disposition nor cause for, our hold on Nova Scotia became farcical.

So the British Government having given away the commanding position and harbour of the province had to set up a counterpoise, and in 1749, under official auspices, almost the sole instance of the kind in our colonial history, the town and settlement of Halifax was established upon that noble and since famous harbour on the eastern shore.

The undertaking was on a large scale, as was indeed necessary. Inducements and assistance of all kinds were given, and



within a brief period some 4000 tolerable settlers were permanently established. But even this was not enough for the object intended, though it was a serious counterstroke

to the French and stirred their leaders to renewed efforts through the willing agency of their Indians and their own wild spirits to make settlement outside the immediate neighbourhood of Halifax impossible. It was this and the exigencies of the coming struggle with France that led to that expulsion of the Acadians which Longfellow has made so celebrated in his harrowing but misleading poem of 'Evangeline.'

All about the isthmus which saves Nova Scotia from being an island a quite unsettled international boundary-line had produced much friction, emphasised by the fact of the French and British having planted forts there in irritating propinquity. So when that preliminary period of skirmishing which led up to the Seven Years' War broke out, the Acadian peasantry, much against their natural inclinations, were involved in acts of hostility toward the British, being hounded on by truculent French priests, under the sinister influence of Louisbourg, to acts of bugandage against British settlers in a British province. The oath of allegiance was now made a final condition of further toleration by Colonel Lawrence, the British Governor—not an extreme demand of a people who for forty years had enjoyed absolute freedom from an almost carelessly beneficent Government. Terrorised in their ignorant superstition by French emissaries and cleries, the wretched Acadians could not be induced by any representations renewed again and again with much patience by the British to take the proffered oath, and the situation, further complicated by bands of hostile Indians in the woods, became intolerable.

In 1755 an ultimatum, with the alternative of deportation, was presented to them, but refused by the great majority, who had been made to believe that their prospect of Paradise would be destroyed by submission; also they discredited the performance of the threat. The wretched people, however, were quickly undeceived. The villages, on a secretly prearranged day, were surrounded by the New England troops and the inhabitants marched to the shore, where vessels ready in waiting bore them away to

various parts of the British colonies, to Canada, and New Orleans. The 'rounding up' and shipment lasted some weeks, and 6000 in all were deported. Homesick, ignorant, and simple, the future for most of them proved a miserable one, ill-suited as they were for such transplantation. One or two thousand who escaped to the woods, or whose men-folk accepted the oath, remained in Nova Scotia. Only a minority of the exiles, in spite of many pathetic attempts, found their way back again. But three years later, in 1758, great changes took place in Nova Scotia. A British fleet and army, sent out by Pitt, arrived in Halifax and achieved, after a month's siege, that capture of Louisbourg alluded to in a former chapter—the first of those successes which terminated in the complete conquest of Canada. The garrison and population were shipped to France; the town, well built and half the size of Quebec, destroyed; its vast fortifications levelled to the ground, and the 'Dunkirk of the North' wiped off the map.

And now a quarter of a century later, when Nova Scotia was awaiting the advent of the people that were really to fill her waste places and make her history, there were about twelve thousand British and other settlers in the Halifax district, and perhaps a couple of thousand Acadians about their old haunts on the western shore. A civil administration had been already established at Halifax with a Governor, Council, and Elective Assembly on the usual colonial model. But these obscure beginnings were soon to be overwhelmed and a fresh era to be inaugurated on a far larger scale and by an influx of population from an altogether different source.

Nova Scotia had been generally recognised for some time before the close of the war as the natural refuge in case of need of the American Tories. Some, indeed, had already gone there upon their own account; but in 1782, the year of the lull in arms preceding the Treaty, the British Government had already taken steps for facilitating their settlement. So in that and the following season the shipment of these melancholy bands of ruined *émigrés* went forward

at New York with all the dispatch possible at a period when small vessels of one or two hundred tons were the ordinary method of transport, and at a moment when the exhaustion of war had made even these less numerous than usual.

Though burdened with the thousand incidental duties inevitable to the closing of a great war, Carleton made it his pious duty to see that every Loyalist applicant had ship-



COUNTRY SCENE IN NEW BRUNSWICK

room. In the face of continual and even threatening importunities by Congress after the Peace to hasten his evacuation, he refused to withdraw a single British bayonet till the last of what proved to be nearly 30,000 Loyalist refugees were safely embarked. All through the spring, summer, and autumn of 1783 small flotillas of these people who had upheld the King's cause—in far worse plight and with much less hope as a whole than the Cavalier refugees of the preceding century—and with such poor effects as they had saved from the general wreck, sailed out of New York harbour and headed for the cold, rugged, inhospitable-looking coast of Nova Scotia. 'Many of these,' wrote Carleton

to Governor Parr of the latter province, 'are of the first families and born to the fairest possessions.' Judges, university professors, substantial merchants, large land-owners, doctors, lawyers, clergymen from every colony, were all here with nothing to speak of but the clothes they stood up in, and no prospect but the backwoods of a country whose snow-bound winters were in themselves a cause of no little dread to those from the more southern provinces. And this 30,000 was about a third of the exodus to all countries, and probably double the number of the almost contemporary body that founded Western Canada.

As regards the men of this refugee population, it should be remembered that a considerable proportion had fought through the war, and the officers had the half-pay of their respective grades, while the rank and file would share, of course, in the prospective grants of land. Anti-loyalist feeling had softened no whit with the Peace. Some experiments were made by persons who preferred to begin life again in the home of their fathers, even as pariahs, rather than to accept at once the prospect of perpetual exile. They trusted to hve down the heinous offence of having taken the part of the Government under which their ancestors had prospered for generations. But it was of no avail; every such attempt, and that too for a long time, was met with an unsupportable truculence no little intensified by the appropriation in many cases of the absentee Tory's goods and chattels. No modern American writer of repute any longer attempts to defend it, while leading men even at the time denounced this vindictive attitude, Washington publicly declaring that an American patriot had nothing more against a Tory than the British Government had against a patriot; but it was of no use. Scarcely one of those, at that time or later, civilian or ex-combatant, who tried the experiment persevered in it. The somewhat limp appeal of Congress to the various States for toleration found no response, and thousands of the flower of the country carried into exile a deep sense of injury that endured unto the third and fourth generation. The blunder was dearly paid for. The day of reckoning came within

the lifetime of many, and it cost the Americans half a continent. For when, in 1812, the young nation turned its aspirations and its armies northward, it there found itself confronted, to its complete discomfiture, by the children of the men and women it had so vindictively flung out.

It was not likely that the inability of the Whig Government, then under the first Lord Lansdowne, to enforce some sort of terms for the Loyalists would escape the scathing criticism of their opponents; but it was in truth no fault of theirs, seeing that they were utterly without the wherewithal to back their demands. And lest the reader should think that the Mother Country suffered these much-enduring people to enter into their wilderness homes—which after all cost the nation nothing with no better support than a year's rations and a few ploughs and axes, I must hasten to say that as soon as feasible a sum of money up to four million sterling was unanimously voted for their relief. It was to be administered by a Court of Claims; but how difficult this proved in practice, and how tardy was the relief when promptitude was vital, and what a large proportion of the deserving, through causes unavoidable, got none at all, is a painful though complicated story we cannot linger over here.

This chapter of North American history may be appropriately closed with the famous dispatch of Carleton, the last ever sent from the old colonies by a British general to his Government. It is dated H.M.S. *Ceres*, New York, November 27, 1783, and runs thus—'His Majesty's troops, and such remaining Loyalists as chose to emigrate, were successfully withdrawn on the 25th inst. from the City of New York in good order, and embarked without the smallest circumstance of irregularity or misbehaviour of any kind.'

CHAPTER VI

FOUNDING OF NOVA SCOTIA AND UPPER CANADA BY THE LOYALISTS

SUCH surveys and other crude preparations for the new population of Nova Scotia as were immediately necessary had been made by the Government. But confusion, hardship, and suffering were inevitable in such an unprecedented situation. Nearly 30,000 souls were virtually dumped into a country bristling thick with the all-pervading primeval forest, every acre of which had to be laboriously cleared before the wheat, oats, and grass—the chief products of its clime—could be sown and gathered. There was no natural open pasture-land, while for many months the numbing hand of a snow-bound winter lay on forest and clearing. An admirable country for the second generation when cleared, cleaned up, and fenced into comfortable farms, but the most formidable of all types to the pioneer; well enough for the humble and hard-fisted, with nothing in the past to regret and their lives before them, but a large portion of these people were not horny-handed sons of toil, having been driven, as we know, from affluence or comfort. The officers, to be sure, had their half-pay, and some of the widows had trifling pensions, but the prospect was in truth a cheerless one. If there was some poor consolation to be derived from ample fellowship in misfortune they had assuredly that, with the further solace of being still under the British flag. For it must be said that the passions of the time, the treatment meted out to them by their countrymen, the havoc and insult wrought upon their property—often, too, by that war-shirking scum of society, which such times

usually bring to the surface- had converted men with



A NOVA SCOTIAN FOREST

formerly no ardent feeling for such things into the most

truculent of monarchists and abhorrrers of republicanism. The unholy alliance, too, as it seemed to them, with the hereditary enemy the French, was not without effect.

Both here and in Upper Canada, to which country we are coming presently, two extremes of colonial society seem to have been strongly represented. On the one hand were the old families of education and property, and on the other the more recently arrived settlers from Great Britain particularly from northern Scotland—whose natural prejudices against a new country and people had not had time to weaken. But they were of all sorts, and the military spirit was naturally strong among them.

The remains of the several regiments that went to Nova Scotia settled mainly in groups, receiving grants of land according to rank, from the 3000 acres of a colonel to the 100 acres of a private. A majority of the emigrants settled in Nova Scotia itself, two or three thousand, however, crossing the narrow strait to Cape Breton. About nine thousand occupied the fertile lands on the St. John river, at whose mouth the present city and seaport of that name was founded, and in a short time this territory was formed into the province of New Brunswick; while a few went north to little Prince Edward Island. There was naturally much initial burghling, and many of the preparations made by the Government were ill-advised and inadequate. There was inevitably much grumbling too, and a great deal of suffering. Implements, seeds, and provisions for two years were found by the Government. But it scarcely needs an experience of these things to conceive how hard was the lot of the women, the weakly, the aged, and the unaccustomed, even had their supplies been sufficient, which was unfortunately not generally the case. In short, there was an infinity of distress and a great deal of patient heroism.

In all our recent history there is nothing perhaps so tragic and so pathetic as the dumping of these forty or fifty thousand Loyalist refugees into the woods of Nova Scotia and Upper Canada, while the fact that they laid the foundations of a

nation crowns the tale with a lustre unique of its kind. Longfellow has made the world familiar with the woes – no doubt real enough—of a comparative handful of rude Acadian peasants, and Campbell has sung in misleading numbers of the burning-out in war time of a village of ‘gentle swains’ (in actual fact, truculent and armed partisans) in the Vale of Wyoming. But the tragedy of the American Loyalists dwarfs these things into insignificance, and yet in the Mother Country it is almost forgotten. Nay, it is absolutely forgotten!

The after-progress, however, of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to eventual comfort and prosperity, is smooth and uneventful, and devoid of incident or political interest compared with that of the Canadas. The gradual amelioration of the hardships of these founders of empire is merely the story of the taming of any forest-clad northern wilderness, and gathers its tragic side only from the peculiar situation, antecedents, and degree of these enforced tammers of it. For this, it must be remembered, was no ‘promised land’ to these people; ‘Hell or Halifax’ had been a catch phrase on the American seaboard in 1780-1783, as ‘Hell or Connaught’ had been in Ireland during the preceding century.

But Nova Scotia, when the back of its primeval savagery had once been broken, agreeably disappointed their dismal expectations. A pleasant and for the most part undulating, well-watered country of fair average fertility, producing all the ordinary crops of Great Britain or the northern States, and some fruits to perfection, was eminently suitable for a community of British race. Its advantageous position, extensive sea-coast, and excellent harbours, its timber, coal, and other minerals, all favoured the sea-going and ship-building interest, which soon grew into a strong subsidiary industry. Picturesque, too, in surface, and swarming with fish and game, it proved an eminently liveable country; a little milder in climate than Canada and admirably salubrious. The children of the refugees and their descendants acquired that strong attachment for it



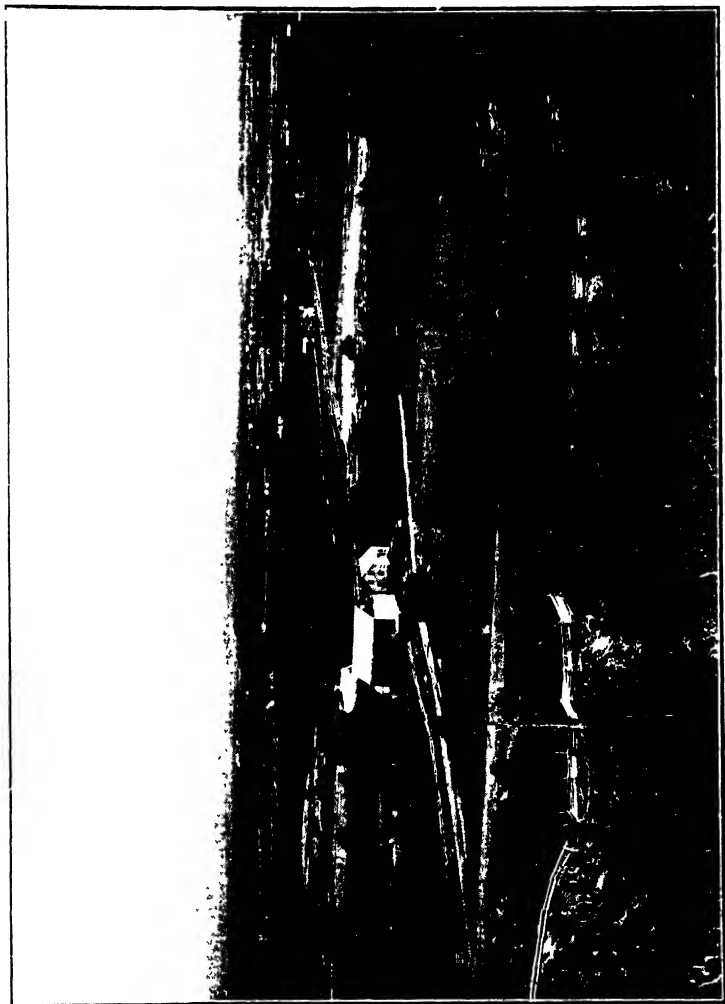
HALIFAX FROM THE CITADEL

as their native country which it was well calculated to inspire, and which an island for Nova Scotia may almost be called one—is more especially qualified to promote.

The early hardships of backwoods life were by degrees greatly mitigated in the case of the better sort. Many of them received in due course the long-delayed sums of money allotted to them by the Court of Claims. Upon those many Government offices too, judicial and administrative, that in a quickly growing colony soon arose, the trained and educated element among the Loyalist settlers had naturally the first call.

It was from such beginnings that in these provinces, as in Upper Canada, an oligarchy gradually acquired all social and political power. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick for at least half a century were in effect aristocracies. The British Government, with the lesson of the revolted American colonies burnt into their minds, determined that the policy which was admitted upon all sides to have been the initial cause of the late rupture should not be repeated. Irregular taxation was the immediate cause of that catastrophe; but it was the fostered spirit of legislative independence, amounting to republicanism in so many of the colonies, that had prepared the ground and made them half-consciously ripe for revolt. Now a large proportion of the refugees had been as strongly imbued with this spirit as their friends and neighbours. They had only differed in their views as to how a protest, against what most considered the arbitrary actions of the Crown, should be supported. This difference of opinion, however, had admitted of no compromise. It was the parting of the ways between which old friends and neighbours, more often than not of similar political affinities, had to choose. The step once taken was generally irrevocable, and the breach widened under the asperities of a protracted and singularly vindictive struggle into a chasm across which no friendly bridge was for a generation even thinkable. But more to the point: the 'United Empire Loyalists,' as the refugees were proud to call themselves, had evolved an active hatred of republicanism

and everything associated with it. American born and descended, as most of the more influential were, a reaction



in favour of British standards in political and social life was now, after these terrible years of fratricidal strife, strong within them. Nor was this merely the soreness of a defeated cause. From the earliest agitations the common folk of

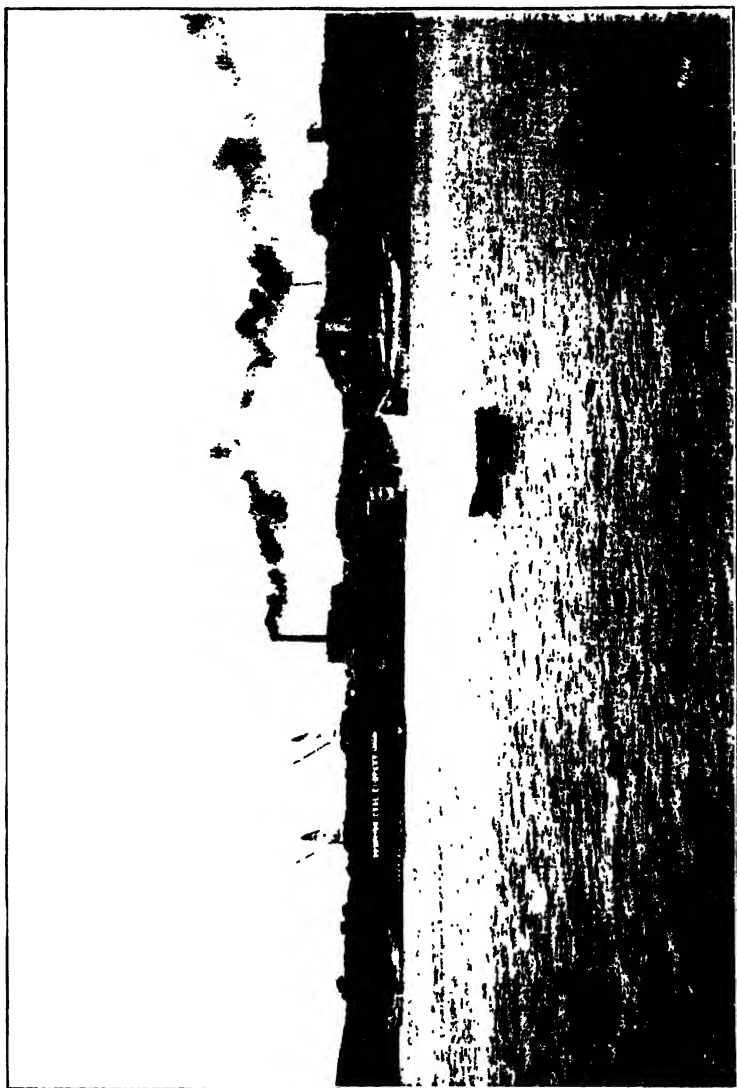
America had taken a more vociferous part than had been hitherto customary in ordinary affairs, with a proportionate lack of appreciation of the principles at stake and the intricacies of the quarrel. Social jealousy, it is admitted, was a frequent cause of much of the vindictiveness shown towards the Tories, and the war had brought about a good deal of actual dislocation in the social fabric of most of the States; for these little semi-republics after all had within them a distinct oligarchical flavour. So when the new provinces were started it was natural that the British Government should provide against the frequent deadlocks which the old colonial elective assemblies with their power over the purse had created, and that the Loyalist settlers of the higher class should for the moment, at least, be quite in accord with such conservative policy.

These provincial governments consisted of a governor, a council or upper chamber (usually about twelve in number), and an elective assembly, expanding of course in numbers with the growth of the country—a scheme which sounds admirably democratic and quite on the English pattern. The prodigious difference, however, becomes at once apparent when it is stated that the Executive, which remained with the Governor and the Council nominated by himself, had a revenue from Imperial customs and the sale of Crown lands, which made it independent of any refusal of supplies by the Lower House such as had rendered the old colonies popular governments in fact as well as in name. In Nova Scotia and New Brunswick the population already in the colony, together with the rank and file of the United Empire Loyalists, reinforced by a steady but not voluminous stream of emigration from the Mother Country, comprised the farmers, the lumbermen, and the sea-going folk of the new provinces. The higher sort of Loyalists by degrees acquired a monopoly not merely of the wholesale trade and learned professions, but practically of all the offices that were in the gift of their Government. Halifax itself flourished greatly as a naval and military station, and became the resort, for this and kindred reasons, of numbers of Englishmen

of the higher classes who, merging with the upper ranks of the United Empire Loyalists, combined to make the social atmosphere of the rapidly growing and prosperous city together with one or two smaller ones—notoriously pleasant, but indisputably exclusive. Yet more; this society grew to dominate the province, and it was known as ‘The Oligarchy.’ It monopolised, as a matter of course, every office and emolument at the disposal of the Government, which was indeed composed of its own friends. Class distinctions became acutely marked, and a monarchical spirit and an uncompromising hatred of republicanism, whether French or American, were very successfully cultivated in Nova Scotia for half a century, while the tradition lasted much longer than that. To this day, the society of Halifax, in speech, manner and habit, is more English than that of any other city in the old provinces of the Dominion. The political and social situation, though not quite so strongly marked, became very similar in New Brunswick. This concentration of power in the upper classes, after all, was not very seriously abused, and the system answered well enough for the time; the mass of the country people being content to remain plain farmers—owners of holdings averaging from one to two hundred acres gradually cleared and worked by the family with little outside assistance. The aristocracy, to use a convenient term, gathered into the towns; for neither here nor in Canada were the physical conditions suitable to maintaining a country gentry class—or rather one of large gentlemen farmers—and employers of labour, such as had been a distinct element to a greater or less degree in the old American colonies. With rare exceptions the maritime provinces, like Upper Canada, became a country of hard-fisted yeomen and fishermen, content, till the general revolt—peaceful or otherwise—of half a century later, to leave government and its perquisites in the hands of an oligarchy.

Mention should also be made of several thousand German and Swiss inhabitants—descendants of a large settlement made in the province soon after the founding of Halifax in

1749; while after the re-founding of the colony by the

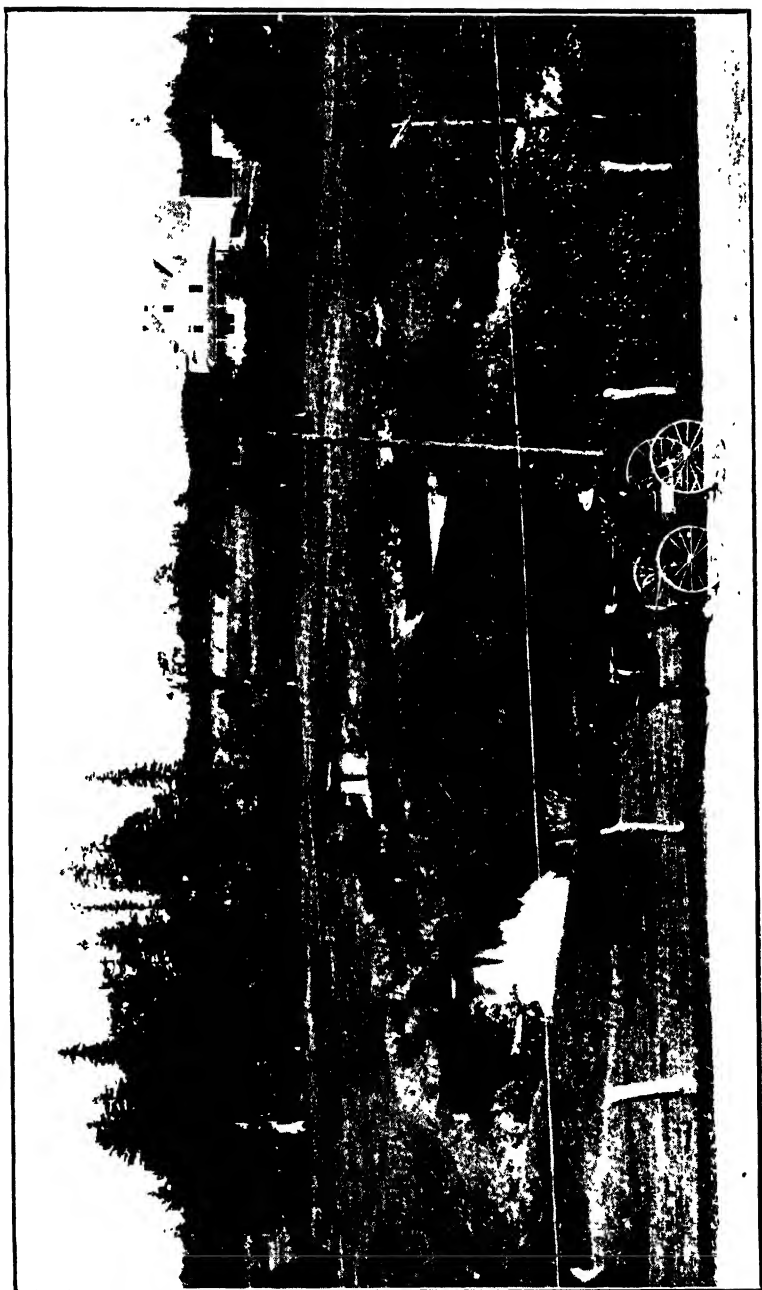


Loyalists, a large number of Scottish Highlanders, for economic or more arbitrary reasons, forced away from their native glens, found a home in Nova Scotia. A considerable

portion of these went to Cape Breton Island, which for some time was a detached Government, though subsequently re-united to Nova Scotia. Here they remain to this day, a more or less homogeneous and simple people, gathering on Sunday in crowds upon the hillside in the open air to hear long sermons from their ministers in the old Scottish fashion, and until quite recently using Gaelic as their natural speech.

St. Jean—afterwards Prince Edward Island—lying just to the north, and within sight of Nova Scotia, must not be overlooked, since it is now a prosperous little province of 100,000 thrifty farmers and fishermen, and one of the federated provinces of the Dominion of Canada. Little utilised by the French, it was settled, after the Revolutionary War, in much the same fashion as Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, and New Brunswick, with, however, one great reservation: for in 1767, while still a wilderness, the island had been granted to a number of proprietors in England on certain conditions of settlement. The rights remained, though the conditions had been wholly neglected; and there was a constant struggle between the descendants of the independent settlers of 1783-1787, who were hampered with rents to irresponsible absentee landlords, and these latter, till 1869, when a law was passed enabling the colonists to redeem their freeholds by money payments.

The story, then, of Nova Scotia and the maritime provinces, from their virtual founding by United Empire Loyalists, is a comparatively humdrum tale of material and political development. There was no race question, nor any hostile invasions, as in the two Canadas to which we are now coming; nor yet any great religious cleavage; merely the inevitable friction between the Church and the Nonconformists, which, though often bitter enough, was after all of slight political moment. The chief interest in the story lies in the gradual revolt of the people against oligarchical pretension and monopoly, and the struggle for responsible government, which was peacefully achieved in 1840. Involved in this movement was always the assumption of the dominant class that the Church of England,



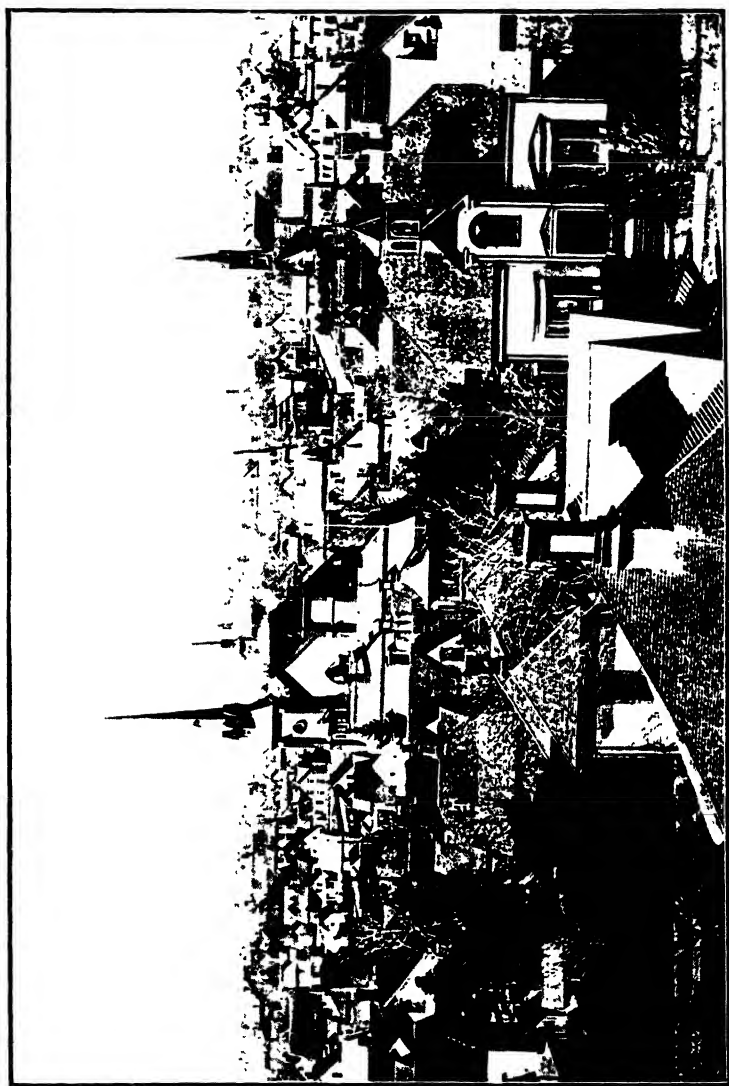
though not definitely established, was *ipso facto* the official and recognised faith. Colonies where the Crown and through the Governor and a nominated Council—something like a local aristocracy of breeding and education were practically supreme, inevitably gave the Church a position which the mere counting of heads did not seem to warrant. Those days were not as these in our oversea dominions. It was assumed, and not unnaturally, that the Church of England was the guardian of religious interests, and that the traditions of the Mother Country in this respect were applicable to colonies strongly attached to the monarchical interest. Presbyterians and other dissenters were not discriminated against, but their sectarian divergencies were simply regarded as their own affair, and such official support and recognition of religion as there was ran upon lines not merely justified by time-honoured tradition, but by the statistics of the period in the Mother Country. But more than half of the population of the maritime provinces and Upper Canada belonged to various Nonconformist bodies, who resented the allotment of Crown wild lands to Church purposes, and cherished a grievance against the Church of England on that and some other accounts. It proved a burning question in most of the colonies. When one remembers that the Anglican Church was not only the State Church in England, but in those days embraced the greater part of the nation; furthermore, that the governing and educated classes of these provinces were mainly connected with it, and that till the Revolution it had been the State Church of the middle and southern colonies, one may regard the outcry of the sects as a little premature and even factious. But it was very loud and very long, and lasted for half a century; and as Nonconformity increased in preponderance with the growth of the population, it naturally resisted the material support given to the Church and certain other forms of recognition of a less tangible nature.

As a last word—for the present, at least—on these provinces it may be remarked that their maritime facilities greatly assisted in more ways than one that steady path to

reasonable comfort and prosperity without affluence which has always distinguished them. The British fleets, to say nothing of the trading and privateering vessels that in the Napoleonic wars and that of 1812-1815 made Halifax their base, were a constant source of revenue. The real founding of the provinces was achieved by those sorrowful but courageous groups of judges, advocates, clergymen, professors, landowners, soldiers, and a large following of humble folk who for two years were huddled on scant rations, and exposed to a fierce climate in tents, log shanties, and clap-board houses amid the boundless forests. It is no blame to an Imperial Government suddenly called upon to meet such an unprecedented emergency that many necessities were overlooked, that supplies and even tools and implements were woefully short. Though many, women especially, both then and later, perished of their sufferings, and many had not the stuff in them to face such conditions, and drifted away on the first opportunity, the majority won courageously through their trials. And after all, though most of these people were utterly unaccustomed to the precise difficulties and hardships that they were called upon to face, they must be credited with a certain amount of that adaptability natural to a colonial stock, and were at least nothing like so helpless as a similar company of Europeans dumped in such fashion into the wild woods would have found themselves. Nova Scotians have good reason to be proud of their descent from those who passed through the ordeal, and the many who can do so are more than justified in letting you know at an early opportunity that they are of 'United Empire Loyalist stock.'

Having thus dealt with what may be called the eastern wing of the Loyalist deportation, and told how they became the virtual founders of the maritime provinces, we must now turn to that corresponding movement of the same people who founded the province of Upper Canada, and opened out in addition the hitherto virgin districts of the old French colony south of the seigneuries. We nowadays use the expression 'Canada' for the whole of the Dominion,

but this, the reader must be reminded, is quite modern. In



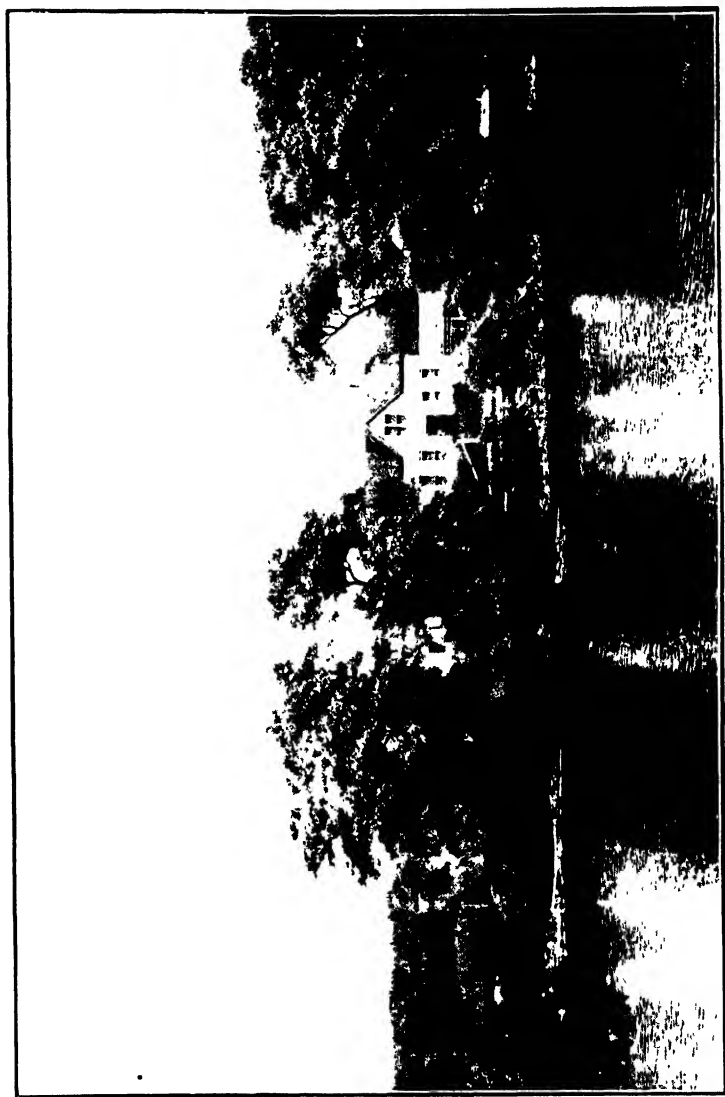
those days the term was only associated with the French colony, and when its wide unoccupied area west of Montreal

and the mouth of the Ottawa came into political being, this last, now Ontario, was known as Western or Upper Canada. Hitherto this great region had been regarded as a howling wilderness known only to trappers and fur traders. The French fort and depot of Frontenac stood upon the present site of Kingston, while an ancient trading station and fortress still flourished where the Niagara river empties into Lake Ontario. But a virtually unbroken mantle of virgin forest covered a territory which was tacitly assumed to be indifferent soil, and to be cursed with an Arctic climate. As a matter of fact no one had troubled about it at all as a possible region for settlement. The French, subdividing after their fashion the still half-timbered seigneuries, had no need for agricultural pioneering, while the few British in Canada were merchants and traders.

But when the question of finding some place of refuge for the expatriated Loyalists became an urgent one, the unsettled lands of Canada naturally suggested themselves. All, however, of the familiar portion of Canada was under seigniorial land tenure. It was quite certain that no American colonist would become the vassal or tenant of a seigneur, while to tamper with the law now confirmed by Act of Parliament to Canadians who preferred this mild form of vassalage to freehold was out of the question. South of the French seigneuries, however, and adjoining the old international boundary line, which was freshly confirmed at the Treaty, was a large tract of desirable and fertile country that was soon to become the well-known 'Eastern Townships' of Quebec. For the moment, however, there was a strong objection to their settlement urged by General Haldimand, Governor of Canada, who throughout the war, and afterwards, exerted himself as actively to alleviate the miseries of the constantly arriving batches of Loyalists as did Carleton in facilitating their removal. It was thought unsafe, in short, to plant ex-soldiers, steeped in the bitter feelings then prevalent, immediately alongside their late enemies.

So the wilderness, from the limits of the seigneuries around

Montreal up the northern shore of the St. Lawrence to Lake



Ontario, was examined by experts, and to the surprise of most people was reported upon favourably, in consequence of

which the necessary surveys were accomplished, a gathering centre formed at old Fort Frontenac, now renamed Kingston, and provision for the granting of land and for temporary support of the settlers was made on similar lines to those followed in Nova Scotia. At the same time at Fort Niagara, which had been the base throughout the war of much Loyalist military enterprise, like facilities for settlement were offered to all Loyalist exiles. A great many were already gathered in French Canada, for numbers expelled from New England had drifted that way. The Loyalists were particularly strong in the large colony of New York and their refugees had mostly come up by the lake route. Several of the New York Loyalist regiments, too, were already upon the frontier, while more of the exiles came by sea from Carleton at New York. We have precise particulars and all the names of these thousands of people who founded Upper Canada, and where they settled, and much information as to where they came from. All this is profoundly interesting to those specially concerned with the subject and the country; for the general reader, however, it will be enough to say that the exiles may be divided into three groups. First, the regiments who were planted on tracts of their own with their families, and were known as 'incorporated settlements.' Secondly, the civilians who came together and were planted together in 'unincorporated settlements'; and lastly, those who arrived later, singly or in small groups. Some of these were relations or friends of the exiles, either of secret British or negative sympathies, and were attracted by the prospect of good land, with a few others who had persevered in an attempt to weather the persecution of their old neighbours and failed. Amongst the refugees, too, were a number of New York Dutch families who had actively taken the King's side, and yet more Germans, usually recent settlers in America, who either had the conservative and monarchical instinct still strong within them or had actively served in a Loyalist corps.

There came also a number of Scottish Highlanders, recent settlers in North Carolina, for very similar motives,

among them being the two sons and the husband of the famous Flora Macdonald, of 1745 renown, who had fought through the war. One must cut short such details here; but as a suggestive glimpse of the whole movement we may take note how Johnson's Royal New York regiment, with its first battalion, mostly Germans of the Mohawk valley, and their women and children settled in the tract that is now the Ontario county of Dundas, and how Jessup's Rangers, Anglo-New Yorkers, come next, while the King's Rangers of similar composition planted the district where Kingston now stands. Their colonel was James Rogers, brother of the famous New England partisan leader in the Seven Years' War, whose daring enterprises against the French in the woods won the admiration of the English army and whose appearance at



ONTARIO (D. 1871),
F. JAMES ROGERS

Court and portrait in the London print shop windows after the war gave him a fame transitory enough in England but enduring in North America. James Rogers is a fair sample of the higher class refugee. He was developing a wild estate of 22,000 acres in Vermont when the war broke out, and he drew his sword on the King's side, lost his property worth £30,000 by confiscation, and began life again to found a Canadian family well known to-day. Butler's Rangers, too, who had secured the Niagara posts and that end of Canada against American attack and been a scourge throughout the war of the enemy's frontier settlements, were allotted lands along the Niagara river 150 miles to the westward of the Kingston grants.

Numbers of the refugees came the whole way by land, driving their wagons and such poor salvage of their effects as they could carry over hundreds of miles of backwoods trail or following the course of lonely rivers in rude bateaux or log canoes. From every state of the new republic, even distant South Carolina, in Government ships, or by toilsome marches in small groups, these hapless people found their way to the wild woods, where from the bastion of a rude fort here and there the British flag for which they had endured so much and now regarded with a grim devotion unknown in their old life fluttered against the green foliage of the forest.

The total number of the Loyalist refugees who came to Canada in 1783, 1785, including those who were already under the protection of Governor Haldimand, may be approximately estimated at 12,000. More than half of them were spread along the Kingston district or the Bay of Quinté near the outpouring of Lake Ontario. The rest were divided between the Niagara districts and even remoter trading posts on Lake Erie and the southern portions of the French country outside the seigneuries. As in Nova Scotia, they bore the name of United Empire Loyalists and were proudly jealous of a distinction which marked them out from all later immigrants of whatsoever country or nationality. It was seriously proposed that the right of affixing the letters U.E.L. to their names should be officially granted to themselves and their descendants for ever. In the maritime provinces that have never been the field for great rushes of immigration and where probably half the present population are the descendants of the Loyalist settlers, such a mark would have been superfluous. As regards Upper Canada, however, into which waves of immigration have been constantly pouring, 'founders'-kin,' as one might call it, is much rarer, and such a badge, though not altogether consistent with democratic institutions, might have served to remind the millions, who have gone and prospered in the colony since, to whose suffering and heroism they owe their opportunities.

In the struggle for success and in the pride of material

expansion, of dollars and prosperity, the past is apt to be scoffed at and forgotten. A large majority of present-day Canadians are practically quite ignorant of how their country came into being. In the whole vast flood of oratory and journalism, annually devoted in London alone to the concerns of Canada, there is hardly a conscious note that the Dominion is other than as New Zealand or Australia created, that is to say, from the start in undramatic plodding fashion by emigrants from England, Ireland, and Scotland. It is small wonder that not one educated Englishman in a thousand has the faintest notion that all old Canada not French owes its existence to the American colonists who fought for the Crown, and then a generation later fought as hard in a long and bloody war to preserve the soil they had won. New Englanders, New Yorkers, Jerseymen, Pennsylvanians, Virginians, and Carolinians were they and largely drawn too from the cream of their respective provinces. British Canada was not founded by ordinary wilderness winners or by the mere humdrum industry of persons from England or Scotland intent on bettering their condition. These people in later years, to be sure, contributed enormously to its growth and population, though in a far less degree than in the case of the maritime provinces. Canada was in truth a military colony, and the bulk of its manhood were soldiers of long active service. These makers of empire, men and women, had lived through stirring times. Of the past thirty years, seventeen had been those of war; for the close of the seven years' struggle with France witnessed the beginning of the greatest Indian war, that of Pontiac, which had ever taxed the resources of the white man in America.

The soil of this hitherto unknown northern wilderness in due course revealed the agricultural qualities which all the world now associates with the name Ontario. But the sufferings of these pioneers for the first few years were even more severe than those of their fellows in Nova Scotia. The situation was far more remote and inaccessible to relief and to markets. The Nova Scotians were at least upon one of

the highways of ocean, and started life within reach of a ready-made Government and a growing city and port at Halifax. The Kingston settlements on the other hand, though they lay in touch with a fine harbour on the great inland waters of Lake Ontario, looked out upon them as upon a sea of the dead, bounded by an unawakened primeval world, of interminable slaggy forest, whence came no human products: a still shipless sea along whose shores, now rich in



NIAGARA FARMER (1850) AS
A CHILD WITH
HIS PARENTS

autumn with harvests and sprinkled with flourishing towns, might creep at long intervals some solitary boatload of beaver-skins or fleet of long canoes driven by Indian paddles. Ordinary water communication up the St. Lawrence then terminated at Montreal. The several rapids on the great river, before the canals were cut to Lake Ontario, involved the unloading of cargoes and the dragging of boats up each in turn. The larger Kings-

ton townships were over a hundred miles, the smaller Niagara settlements were more than as much again, from Montreal, their nearest base of supplies. There was no road through the bush; the river, as indicated, was the sole artery of travel or supply.

About 6000 souls had been collected at Kingston, where there was a fort, a small garrison, and an old clearing in the forest. Thence they had been dispatched into the woods by regiments or civilian companies to their allotted surveys, to grope their way to such comfort as the future might have in store for them with blunt axes (the grindstones had been forgotten), a short supply of hoes and mattocks, some seed —

wheat and potatoes—and an instalment of two years' rations that Government had undertaken to provide. The *personnel* of these hapless companies was very much the same as that already described in the Nova Scotian exodus. The Canadian forest in its pristine state is as forbidding and formidable to the man who would cut a home out of it as can well be imagined. The laborious process of chopping and logging and burning need not be described, except to remark that it is a painfully protracted one even to the most hardened woodsman, and that the bristling stumps which for years disfigured the slowly expanding clearing in the implacable benumbing forest robbed the hard-won acres of half their joys of conquest.

But the refugees on Lake Ontario had less even of such moderate compensations and rude comforts as fall to the ordinary pioneer, unless abundant companionship in misery count for such. Semi-starvation for the first three years was almost their normal lot. How the much-prized meat-bone went round from home to home to be boiled and reboiled is a familiar reminiscence of this period, as is that of the half-starved children who, with the dawn of spring, grubbed in the woods for roots and weeds that friendly Indians taught them had some nutritious value; and how through the bitter winters of that rigorous clime even ordinary clothing was woefully scarce, while many had barely enough to cover their nakedness. When the day came, however, that small crops of wheat could be grown in the ragged clearings, the ample harvest brought a gleam of hope and gave assurance at least of a corn-land richer than almost any of them, from whatever colony had ever tilled. For the humbler sort who had lost little, or even for the young of all sorts, this was well enough; and the wretched log-hut around which the wolves howled on winter nights took on, no doubt, a more transient aspect; and in the blazing logs within, modest dreams of a clapboard homestead and a hundred acres of corn-land, took cheering shape. But what of the middle-aged, or those again to whom such possibilities of modest future competence were a poor

compensation for all that they had lost, and the hard, sordid life of the moment a constant torture? There was hope, however, even yet for many of these, though slower of fruition than in the case of Nova Scotia.

But as regards the actual agricultural future of the new settlements, there was a long interval of mere rude self-supporting abundance before the country came in touch with markets and produced any money-income to the settlers. Mills had to be established, and, above all, some system devised for getting the marketable grain down the broken waters of the St. Lawrence. For a long time there were neither roads, stores, schools nor churches, nor doctors, nor even drugs. Patches of flax and hemp were grown, and a few sheep were kept, in spite of the wolves, to supply the spinning-wheels and replace, together with the skins of wild animals, the tattered garments of a former day. Game and fish proved some alleviation to actual want, though wholesale pioneering is at an obvious disadvantage in this respect. But the Indians of the Six Nations, the hereditary allies of the British, were represented in the Ontario settlements and proved in all such elementary matters of wilderness life once more their friends in need; and how this came about needs a word.

Now, the territory and villages of the Six Nations lay, as already noted in a former chapter, just to the south of Canada in western New York. Both parties in the Revolutionary War had bid for their assistance, and, though their sympathies were not deeply engaged, such active help as they rendered was perhaps naturally on the side of the King—the titular object of their ancient allegiance; for the red man was not concerned with constitutional niceties nor with ocean smuggling. His preference for the crown, while not actively very effective owing to the restraint exercised or attempted by British officers on his sanguinary war-code, enabled the rejected bidders and their friends in the British Parliament to make great capital out of the ‘unnatural league with scalp-hunting savages.’ The Six Nations in many respects had been a wonderful people as warriors, orators, and even

statesmen in their way. Three or four thousand warriors strong, at the most, they had not merely in early times broken up all the Indian nations or confederacies within their sphere and spread the terror of their name from the frozen north of Canada to the mouth of the Mississippi, but for generations had held something like the balance of power between the English and the French. Now, however, with the victory of the Americans they had paid the penalty of their allegiance to King George. Their villages had been wiped out, together with their old treaty rights; while, worse still, they had been overlooked in the Treaty of Peace. At this they were really indignant and no wonder. They demanded by what right King George made over their lands to the 'Yankees' without so much as even a message to their nation. The King, as we know, could not help himself. He did all that remained in his power to do, and allotted large tracts to the exiled Indians on the Grand river running into Lake Erie, where about Brantford their descendants still remain, dragged along in the wake, as it were and that, too, but half willingly of the advanced civilisation which now surrounds them.

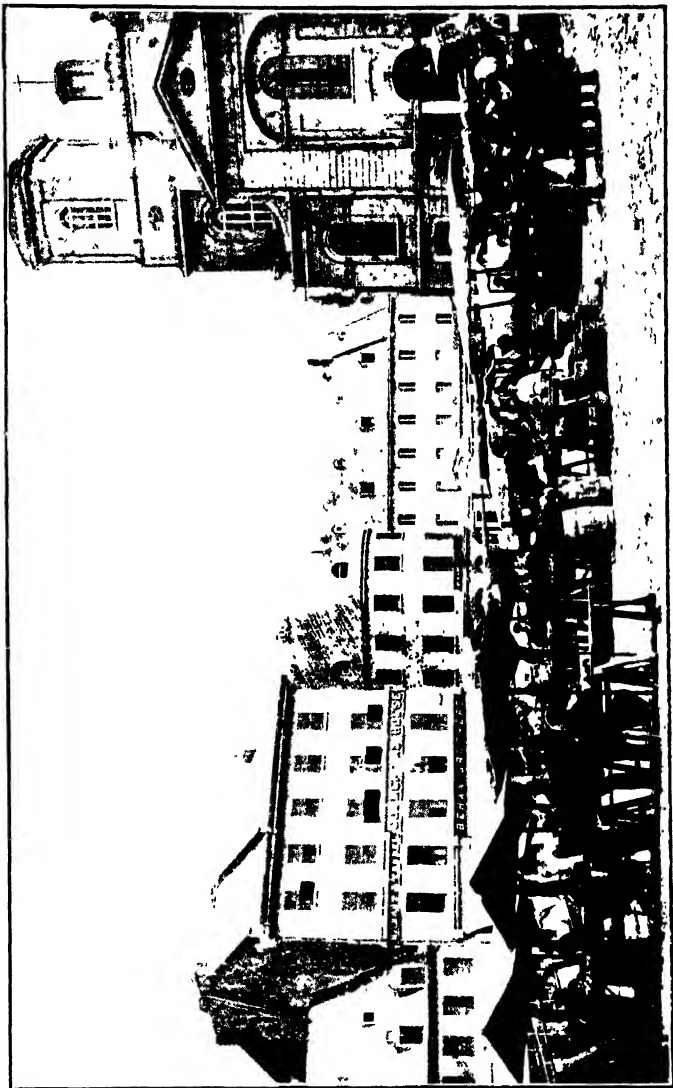
CHAPTER VII

THE POLITICAL DIVISION OF CANADA

AND now, leaving the maritime provinces to their comparatively untroubled and straightforward course towards maturity, let us see what effect this rush of virile, English-speaking Protestants had upon the ancient French dominion of Canada, still governed under the British Crown in as near agreement as possible with its old customs and traditions. It virtually upset everything. Here was a country committed to semi-feudal land laws and to a Roman Catholic establishment, to the contentment of its 100,000 French inhabitants and with no dissentients but some thousand or so British-American traders at the ports, whose objections were unreasonable and in any case futile. Popular government was otherwise wanted by no one, and its very meaning understood by few. The peasantry, during and since the war, had prospered as never before in their history; while the Church and noblesse proved staunch supporters of the Crown. In spite of many inevitable minor difficulties Canada seemed to be settling down into a purely French but loyal appanage of Great Britain.

In 1778, when France landed her forces on American soil in support of the revolutionists, there had been, to be sure, some anxious moments for the Canadian Executive. The *habitants* had certainly no active desire for the old *régime*; but the sight of a French army might well have proved too much for their new allegiance. The noblesse, though far more likely to catch fire from such actual contact, would probably have flinched from what seemed to them the unholy alliance of their Mother Country with New

England Puritans. At any rate, such dangers for the present

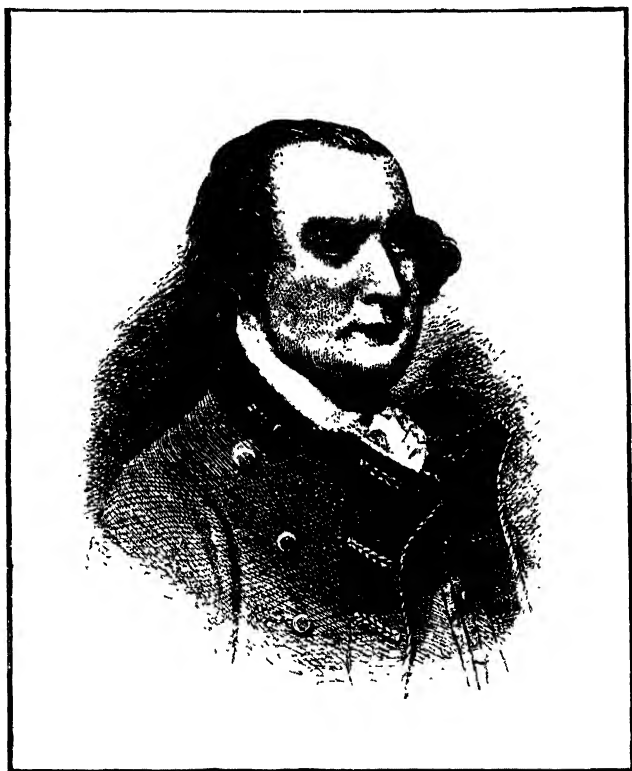


had passed away when, like a bolt from the blue, twelve thousand heretics, with the prospect of thousands more to

come, descended upon their soil. Yet distances were great, and the woods were still thick. If the priests felt anxious on religious grounds, the *habitant* away in the French seigneuries but dimly realised that his little nation had suddenly been saddled with a not very congenial partner for all time. To the British authorities, however, the situation was plain enough, and in 1786 they again sent out Sir Guy Carleton under the new title of Lord Dorchester to take the helm—the best servant for such a purpose the Empire then had at command. He was given authority not only as Governor-General of Canada, but with powers over the Lieut.-Governors of the maritime provinces, though it was not indeed these last, but Canada, that now mattered.

As for the struggling Loyalists the cause of these threatening future complications—they had little inclination to think just yet of politics, being wholly absorbed in the effort to keep body and soul together. But not so the Government of Canada. For upon the heels of these ten or twelve thousand pioneers another wave was already beginning to pour in. Rumours that a fine and fertile country, where land could be had almost for the asking, was being opened out, spread through the northern States of the Republic. A good many dissatisfied Nova Scotians, too, heard rumours, and indeed true ones, of a better farming country and found their way to Canada. A few immigrants also arrived from Great Britain, mainly Highlanders. Fresh wild lands were now surveyed and offered by the Crown to all and sundry from the American States who could give a good account of themselves and would swear allegiance to the King. The political and financial condition of the American Federation, it should be remembered, was extremely precarious for some years after the war. Everything was uncertain, even to the very form of government. For a long time, too, money was woefully scarce, high taxes pressing or threatening, and inter-State disputes rife. In a country so peculiarly situated—physically, politically, and socially—there were naturally thousands of persons, largely of the backwoods type, whose interest in the late war had been at least languid,

whose professions of patriotism had been dictated by their fears or their interests, and who had belonged, moreover, to the non-combatant part of the population. Such



LORD DORCHESTER

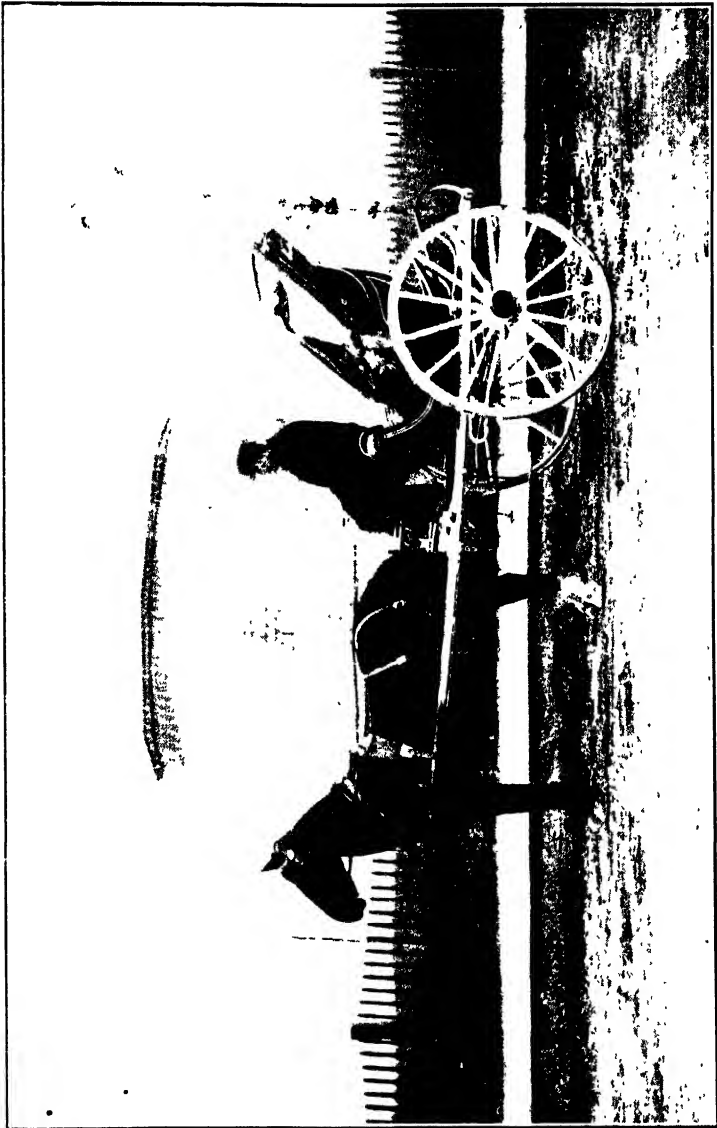
persons could hardly be blamed for having no views or principles that would weigh for a moment against the prospect of a hundred or two of acres of good land for next to nothing under a Government that appeared as favourable as any other to the non-political agriculturist.

The only thing that at present deterred much greater numbers—who knew well enough that 'British tyranny' was a mere bogey—was the undoubted fact that the whole of Canada, from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to Lake Huron,

had come under the Quebec Act of 1774, purely designed though this was as a generous and politic measure for the content of the French occupying the seigneuries along the St. Lawrence between Montreal and their limit of Mal Baie, eighty miles below Quebec. Small thought had been given by the Government to a future British settlement; nor again had the French Canadians or their friends any particular designs on the wilderness now beginning to be occupied by the United Empire Loyalists. They were not that kind of people; preferring rather to remain on the St. Lawrence and subdivide their holdings. There was still abundance of elbow-room, and they had no ambitions as wilderness-winners, unless in the capacity of explorers, missionaries, or fur traders. Technically the semi-medieval Canadian laws—clerical and otherwise—held good over this whole vast unoccupied region. But the United Empire Loyalists had got their lands in freehold, and the Roman Church would assuredly neither expect nor be allowed to trouble them. Still, the uncertainty among ill-informed backwoodsmen south of the international boundary-line naturally counted for something. Hundreds, nevertheless, took the risk, and when it became known that fresh legislation was in the air, as indeed was inevitable, they began to move in still more freely. It was in truth an extraordinary situation. By 1790-1791 there were probably 20,000 Anglo-Americans, together with a sprinkling of actual British immigrants, already settled in Canada.

The old malcontent British merchants of Quebec and Montreal were jubilant. They now looked forward to popular government with a large following of politically educated Anglo-Saxons who, though in so small a minority, would overbalance the illiterate French element and probably grow in time to even numerical preponderance. Then, of a truth, these feudal and popish abominations could be relegated to the scrapheap, and the French *habitant* drummed into a tolerable imitation of an Anglo-American Protestant. Great was the indignation when it transpired that this pleasant prospect was dissipated, and that the difficulty was to be solved by the division of Canada into

two provinces. In 1791, after much thought and discussion



by experts in the question, the *Canada Act* was carried through the British House of Commons in a debate which is

instructive for that curiously complacent ignorance of overseas conditions and that production of cocksure prescriptions which even to this day are sometimes apt to distinguish such discussions. The debate is memorable, too, for the famous and permanent breach between Fox and Burke, and it is characteristic that the cause of the quarrel was not Canada—of which, naturally, neither of them knew very much—but the French Revolution which had just shaken the world.

The Act was of immense importance. It created by law what accident may be said to have already created in fact: a French and an English province; in short, those of Quebec and Ontario as they stand to-day. There were scarcely any Frenchmen but scattered *voyageurs* and fur-traders west of the mouth of the Ottawa, while there were perhaps by now 12,000 British settlers, mostly Loyalist refugees. In Quebec or Old Canada there were 100,000 French and perhaps 8000 British, more than half of these also United Empire Loyalists. The Act, however, did more than this, for it created representative, though not responsible, government. Upper Canada (Ontario) got a Lieutenant-Governor, while both provinces received the Constitution already existing in Nova Scotia and in many of the West India islands—a Council or Upper Chamber, that is to say, from which the Executive were appointed, together with an Elective Assembly. The power of veto lay with the Governor in Council, and, as in the maritime provinces, the Government had sources of revenue independent of that voted by the Lower House, and, moreover, exercised its veto freely. The Assembly, in consequence, became a useful mouthpiece of the people, but very ineffective as a political power. In after days, all this had of course to come to an end, but in very raw communities, or in very small ones, it was probably the wisest form of government.

The United Empire Loyalists were not yet in a position to concern themselves with the measure; but it fell in generally with their ideas, and certainly suited their leaders, when their time for action came, most admirably. The terms of the

Act maintained all the old privileges of the French in the lower province. The tithe or dime was only payable by Catholics, and the religion of non-Roman communions was amply safeguarded. The French Canadians, though the most ardent and ultramontane of Catholics themselves, have rarely displayed any disposition to interfere with other forms of faith. Their Church has been intimately associated with certain racial aspirations that now and again have seized their imagination, and it has vastly influenced their politics; but since the conquest it has never attempted to worry other creeds. The fact of the British Government, the ruling power of French Canada, being officially Protestant and yet treating the Roman faith so liberally, was doubtless one reason for this. Another was that religious and racial lines ran closely together. And as the French and English, save a very few leading families, rarely mingled in private life, and outside the cities lived mainly in separate districts, religious animosities, as such, have scarcely existed in Canada. There neither were nor are any French Protestants, while the Irish Catholics of a later day formed a separate body. The Anglo-Canadian was a heretic, as a matter of course. That was his affliction, and there was no particular feeling against his ecclesiastical arrangements on the part of the French authorities, but only a perennial dread lest the liberal views on education and kindred matters they represented should contaminate their own flocks or sap the simplicity which they laboured so successfully to maintain. The *habitant* was in many respects a grown-up child, obedient to his priest, who though sometimes poorly educated, was otherwise excellent. He was simple, cheery, domestic, and reasonably, but not sordidly, industrious, with a vein of cunning and suspicion natural to an illiterate peasant-farmer of largely Norman origin.

The Canada Act confirmed the customs of Old Canada, otherwise the lower province, practically in all things. Space forbids tracing out the tangle from which the permanent compromise between French and English law eventually emerged, and the reader would not thank me for

attempting it. But speaking broadly, the criminal law was English, which all approved. The land laws in the seigneurial or French country remained as they were, while the civil law became a compromise, with a leaning to British custom. The small bourgeois or professional class had increased in the cities of Quebec and Montreal, and the germs of intellectual and political ambitions were



A DEEP SNOW-DRIFT

just discernible. Otherwise the gift of an Elective Assembly found the French with a blank mind upon the subject.

The seigneurs had steadily declined in influence and well-being. A majority had virtually sunk into peasants, while the remainder were on less comfortable terms with their tenantry or *censitaires*, and no longer received the social deference and obedience of former days. The causes for this are interesting, but must be passed over here, only pausing to note that at the first elections, the seigneurs, who, though with something of contempt for all the 'popular fads' of Britons, stood freely as candidates, found themselves often to their disgust rejected for the butcher or the baker.

The humours of the situation when necessity flung a measure of popular government at the politically apathetic heads of the French Canadians, were for a time considerable. But as regards the serious side of it all, the British—the old town traders as well as the new rural immigrants—were disgusted at being cut off from Upper Canada with its now recognised potentialities and left in a hopeless minority in the French province; so they assumed the apparently paradoxical attitude of petitioning the Crown against an Elective Assembly. But it was held that while such a body was inevitable for British Upper Canada, it could not judiciously be withheld from the lower province. 'They need have had no fear.' The Governor and his Council were to stand between them and an over-exuberant French House of Assembly, with such effect as to provoke a state of feeling which culminated in armed rebellion half a century later.

Now a particular district of the province became more especially its English speaking quarter, namely, that beautiful, undulating, well-watered country south of Montreal and on the borders of Vermont, known as the Eastern Townships. I have already remarked that the Government feared to place any portion of the U.E. Loyalists in this border country, so it became more particularly the resort of American settlers from Vermont and elsewhere whose main object was good land, though they and their descendants proved ultimately as loyal as any other Canadians. A considerable immigration from Great Britain joined them later; while in due course the towns of Sherbrooke and Richmond sprang up, and the district became noted for fine farms and enterprising farmers, in marked contrast to the more backward methods, smaller holdings, and peasant type of the French *habitant*. They sent and still send—though the French have greatly encroached upon the district—English-speaking Protestants to the Quebec Assembly. These details are not superfluous, for no description of Quebec as a French province would be reasonably accurate without this important reservation of the Eastern Townships—

a large community of British Protestants with their farms, towns and villages, descended mainly from late eighteenth-century American citizens, and early nineteenth-century British immigrants, a little bit of Ontario, so to speak, within the French province.

Now the U.E. Loyalists conceived a profound distrust and no little dislike of this steady stream of American settlers who followed in their wake, into both Upper and Lower Canada, and, perhaps naturally, resented being in any way confused with them. They themselves had fought and suffered for their political principles, while the only professed qualification of these newcomers was that they had not fought and had no political principles, only a desire to get land for nothing, or next to nothing, and readily promised good behaviour. They might be anything, even Republicans at heart! a hideous stain in the eyes of the Loyalist settlers. That the seeds of future trouble might be sown broadcast in the loyal colony seemed only a reasonable fear. But the Government took the risks, tempered only by such scrutiny of the immigrant's character and antecedents as might be possible. The flow continued steadily for years. It is impossible to say how many Americans returned in this manner to their allegiance and to help in the founding of Canada: at least as many as the entire body of U.E. Loyalists settled in the two provinces. If it was love of land rather than the flag which brought in most of them, it is quite certain that the prospects of the Republic were at that time sufficiently unpromising to make many persons who had a reasonably promising alternative think seriously of pursuing it.

The State of Vermont, which adjoined Lower Canada and in the early part of the war had been strongly anti-British, through the mouth of its Governor and one or two of its leading men had made secret overtures in 1779 to Haldimand, then in charge of Canada, with a view to returning to British rule. These overtures were again renewed as late as 1784, and the whole correspondence, prompted by trade interests, is curious and significant reading, and

represents a little bit of history few people on either side of the Atlantic know anything about.



LIEUT.-GOVERNOR SIMCOE

Colonel Simcoe, who had commanded the Loyalist regiment of New York Rangers in the war, was sent out as the first Lieutenant-Governor of the new province that was some day to become the dominant portion of Canada. Niagara, then a straggling village of wooden houses with

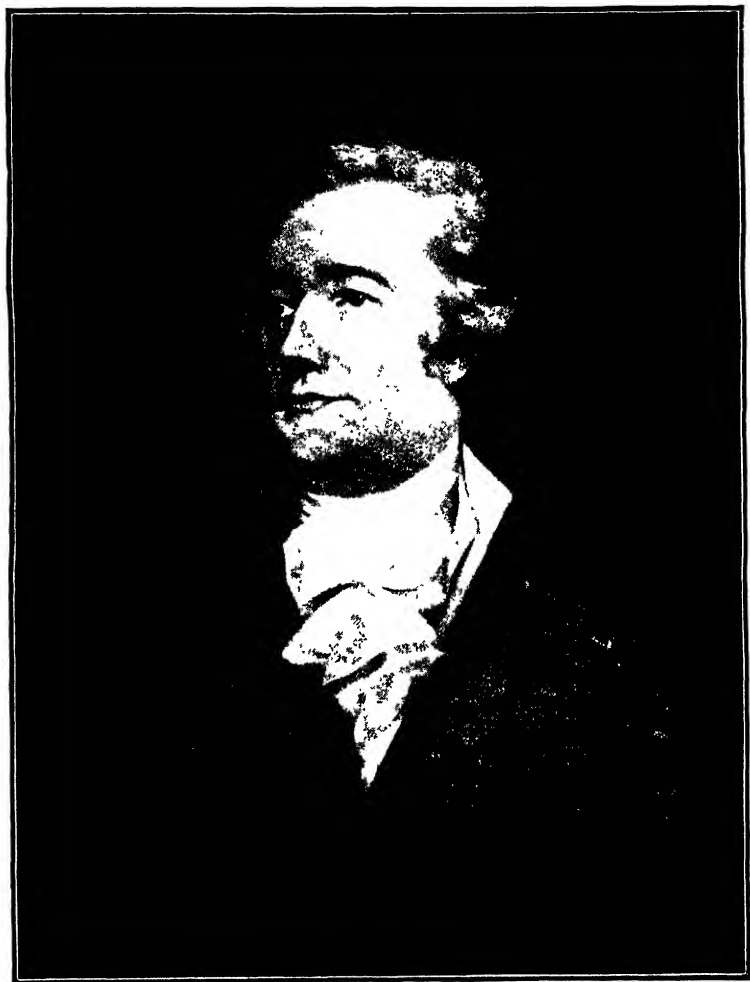
the raw clearings of Butler's Rangers spread around it, was the first capital and was known as Newark. Simcoe met the first parliament of Upper Canada seated on an extemporised throne in a rude wooden hall in September 1792. There was a Council of ten and an elected Lower House of sixteen members, who came in canoes and boats from their clearings in far Sundered districts after safely housing their by now quite respectable little crops of grain. We must, however, leave Simcoe here for the moment, to deal with his U.E. Loyalists and the incoming flow of Americans that the latter so greatly mistrusted, comprising between them perhaps at this date a total population of some 20,000 souls, whose axes had as yet made but small inroad upon the forests that waved unbroken along the north shores of Lakes Ontario and Erie, from the mouth of the Ottawa to the edge of Lake Huron. For at Quebec things were going forward on a larger scale, and in an atmosphere more in touch with a world that had just been shaken to its centre by the French Revolution.

For the next twenty years the two provinces of Canada led absolutely separate lives. But for necessary communications between their Governors they might almost have been in different hemispheres. In the upper and far inland country, the seat of so much future wealth and power, a homogeneous British people were laboriously hewing out their way to prosperity, fighting their common enemy the all-pervading forest with its insects, its agues, its swamps, and its thousand obstructions. They had, of course, then little social, political, and religious differences, but the scene of them was for the present in a remote backwater of life and far removed from the world's alarms, which were just now many and constant. To anyone familiar with pioneering life and who knows his Ontario to-day, the story of its birth and infancy is replete with interest and even with romance, but it is not history in the accepted sense, nor indeed matter of a kind to occupy our space here that is needed for more urgent affairs. Quebec, on the other hand, in those days the centre and pivot of British North American

power, was strongly sensitive to the shocks with which the world was now throbbing. It had really seemed as if North America, its quarrels settled, its various communities exhausted with fratricidal war, would at last settle down to peace and quiet. But the French Revolution had crossed the Atlantic and set everything agog. The inauguration of representative government at Quebec, the meeting of an Elective Assembly of which one-fourth of the members were British, becomes a matter of almost secondary interest; for bad blood had again within a decade of the treaty of peace been fermented between the United States and Britain, represented in this case by Canada, while France and England were again at war.

America had achieved her Constitution in 1789 and her people had already split into the germs of those two great parties which drifted steadily asunder till they met in the long and bloody conflict of 1861-1865. The one then known as the Federal party had the sympathy of the great President Washington, and was virtually led by the still greater statesman Alexander Hamilton. Speaking broadly, this party found its strength in the more worldly wise, commercial, and better educated States of the North. The other, then known as the Republican and afterwards as the Democratic party, and chiefly represented by the planting States of the South, had Thomas Jefferson for its leading exponent, and on the whole was the more ignorant. These people, though including all the slave owners, had caught, so far as enthusiastic admiration goes, the madness of the French movement. No individual among them dreamed of subordinating his property or his personal importance to his exuberant theories or of offering his slaves on the altar of his emotions, but he cut fantastic capers round liberty poles and, what matters here, wrought himself up into a white heat against Great Britain for her hostile attitude to the French Republic. In partial extenuation of this temper it should be said that the French Revolution was naturally flattering to Americans, as it so soon followed their own though with scarcely a feature in common.

The other party, led or inspired by Hamilton utterly disapproved of the heady methods of the French reformers,



ALEXANDER HAMILTON

recognising that neither the just occasion nor the mad procedure of the French Revolution had any relation to American conditions. The grotesque exuberance of the Franco-mania displayed by their political opponents

disgusted them, as well it may have. Their own policy was if possible to bury the hatchet with the Mother Country.



THOMAS JEFFERSON, PRESIDENT U.S.A., 1801-1804, 1805-1808

for they remembered that after all they were Englishmen by inheritance, character, and tradition. The shipping interest, too, so vitally affected by British relations, was of more importance to New England. The great quarrel

had been finally decided and they wished to live upon honourable and friendly terms with the people from whose loins they had sprung, whose language they spoke, and whose laws and literature were their own. The failure to include Canada had been in truth a sore point with all Americans, and among the French party it was easily reopened. There was another standing grievance, too, in that many military posts in the western wilderness, now in U.S. territory, were still held by the Crown as a guarantee of certain promises regarding the treatment of the Loyalists, and one or two other matters in respect of which from the British point of view pledges had been broken. And now there was this fresh war between England and Republican France with unmistakable signs that the latter had views on Canada.

The French Canadians—the Church and the noblesse, that is to say—abhorted the Revolution; and for them France seemed now really dead. But the bourgeois element in Quebec and Montreal, particularly the latter, had acquired under prosperity an increase both in numbers and importance, and at the same time a considerable taint of the new French ideas. Then there were the infinitely more numerous *habitants*, as ignorant and inscrutable as ever, the sport of any unscrupulous demagogues that could gain their ear. American agitators never left them alone, and now came a further stream of French emissaries, skillfully manipulated by the outrageous propagandists that France sent over to stir up ill-will against England in the United States. The situation became so grave that the leading groups of both races, French and British, combined to form patriotic societies for defence against the common danger. Canada was ill protected from any land assault, the home Government always seeming to cherish an invincible reluctance to guard with sufficient troops the last remnant of their old North American Empire. The meagre battalion or two which had been left to defend the colony under Carleton against the Americans will be remembered, and the lesson of that narrow escape from disaster had not been taken to

heart. The constant warning of successive Governors that Canada was virtually unprotected was of small effect, for the home authorities could never divest their minds of the imposing figures of the French militia, or digest the



IN THE QUEBEC WILDERNESS. MOOSE HUNTERS

disagreeable fact that these otherwise worthy rustics had no mind to serve them. An attempt to embody a fraction of this paper force at this critical period proved a failure, partly from the doubt and suspicion engendered in their untutored minds by the foreign emissaries, who were secretly moving among them, and partly no doubt because the warlike habits of their fathers were dead within them from long disuse. Placards were posted on the parish churches

THE POLITICAL DIVISION OF CANADA

'from the free French to their brothers in Canada,' urging them to follow the example of France and the United States and upset a throne 'so long the seat of hypocrisy and imposture, despotism, greed and cruelty.' *'Canadians arm yourselves, call your friends the Indians to your assistance, count on the sympathy of your neighbours and the French, and form an independent nation in league with France and the United States.'* Mercifully for the poor French Canadian, wiser heads and readier arms preserved him beneath the sheltering and indulgent arms of the 'tyrannical and hypocritical Crown of Britain.' For, between the levelling policy of republican France and the arrogant contempt of the flamboyant Republicans next door, what would have become of his beloved language, his customs and his faith, it is not difficult to guess.

So what with French and American machinations, a new form of government, utterly strange to four-fifths of the people, and thousands of Americans with no guarantee but their oath of allegiance, recently settled in the country, Dorchester had his fill of anxiety. But this by no means filled the cup. Out in the Far West, beyond the great lakes, in the Illinois country and elsewhere, the 'Treaty forts' were still held by the Crown and became more than ever a cause of outcry from the anti-British party in the United States. Worse still, an Indian war was being waged by the United States in those very regions and not too successfully, within sight of small English garrisons, whose strict neutrality, vital to the maintenance of Anglo-American relations, was rendered most difficult by the provocations of undisciplined frontier militia. One of the accusations against England in her capacity of ruler of Canada was that of stirring up the Indians outside her borders against the American settlers, who were now pressing far westward. It was useless to reiterate the obvious truism, that of all things the commanders of these small isolated garrisons of a few score men had most cause to dread a war in which they could not join, but in which they might easily be wiped out. Washington himself, who never minced

matters, bluntly stated the causes of the Indian war to be 'land-jobbing, intermeddling of States, and disorderly conduct of borderers who were indifferent to the killing of Indians.'

The new American Government meant well, but was as yet utterly incapable of enforcing its will on the more lawless section of its people. Dorchester was responsible for



AN OLD FRENCH FORT

all these distant forts under young captains and majors, surrounded just now by an electrical atmosphere out of which a spark in the shape of a shot from some swash-buckling Kentucky volunteer might have provoked an Anglo-American war. It was indeed fortunate that during these troublous times Dorchester was at the helm. No proconsul of his day was so well adapted to the onerous and precarious task. For nearly forty years, off and on, he had known North America; for twenty of them he had been in high responsible office and had practically never failed. Yet he was loved and respected by the French Canadians, and only feared by the jobber and the traitor.

Cool in a crisis and a trifle frigid in manner, a grand seigneur in short, his popularity is the more significant. His high integrity at a corrupt time, with his oft-proven kindness of heart, are among the qualities that go far to account for it. He had written and spoken his mind in straighter language to a succession of inefficient Secretaries of State than any proconsul of his or perhaps any time. He had saved Canada in 1775-1776, and had stood by the Loyalist refugees at New York till the last one of them was provided with a passage, under the persistent protests and threats of the Americans.

He was intimately associated with the passing of the Quebec Act of 1774, the charter of French-Canadian liberties, as well as with the new Act of 1791. The very name of Dorchester is unknown to the average Briton, but he served his country faithfully, conspicuously, and to invaluable purpose. He is recognised in Canada as the greatest of all her Governors. Of independent estate in England, he had remained in Canada, though full of years and ailments, from motives of a purely disinterested and patriotic nature.

For war with America seemed imminent. In 1795, however, all outstanding differences between the two countries, including the withdrawal of the British garrisons from the western forts, were settled by Jay's Treaty. The work of the Federal party under Washington and Hamilton, it had been passed by a bare majority, North and South voting almost solid for and against it. The latter were furious at the prospect of easy relations with Great Britain. As a sample of the oratory in vogue, Samuel Adams, though a New Englander, a member of the Southern party, declared that the Quebec Act of 1774 which confirmed the promises made at the surrender of Canada to the inhabitants 'was so barbarously and flagrantly unjust, that the annals of Constantinople might be searched in vain for a parallel.' On another occasion he assured his audience that 'godlike virtue shall blazon our hemisphere till time shall be no

more.' People who would swallow this kind of stuff were, of course, past praying for, but none the less dangerous as they had votes. Washington and his friends, however, carried their point, to the frenzied indignation of the slave-owners with their 'godlike virtue' and the rage of the French Government, who had acquired a conviction that they had bought the Americans body and soul by the undoubtedly priceless assistance rendered them in their day of trial.¹ But then the aristocratic France, so intimate and friendly in its social relations with Englishmen, that had helped the colonists as a move in the game of war and politics, was not the France that raved at the presumption of the Americans in venturing to make treaties without asking its permission. It was altogether another country, that now smothered its former friends in invective, and a great deal more than invective. For American property and interests were treated so brutally by their Republican friends, that even the Gallophile party were stung for a time into joining their political enemies at home in threats of actual war. All these things, however, made for a period of tranquillity in Canada, and it may be said that Jay's Treaty and the understanding with England stimulated a further movement of Americans both into Upper Canada and the Eastern Townships of Quebec.

The granting of land-titles and the fees associated with it and the grabbing of land for speculative purposes by Anglo-Canadians in both provinces, who in vulgar modern parlance had some kind of 'pull' at headquarters, formed a conspicuous feature in domestic politics and in the tribulations of Governors who followed Dorchester and Simcoe respectively in the two provinces. Population increased rapidly together with trade and comparative wealth. Agriculture also prospered: among the French by the natural increase of the rural population on the seigneuries, rather than by energy or improved methods; among the

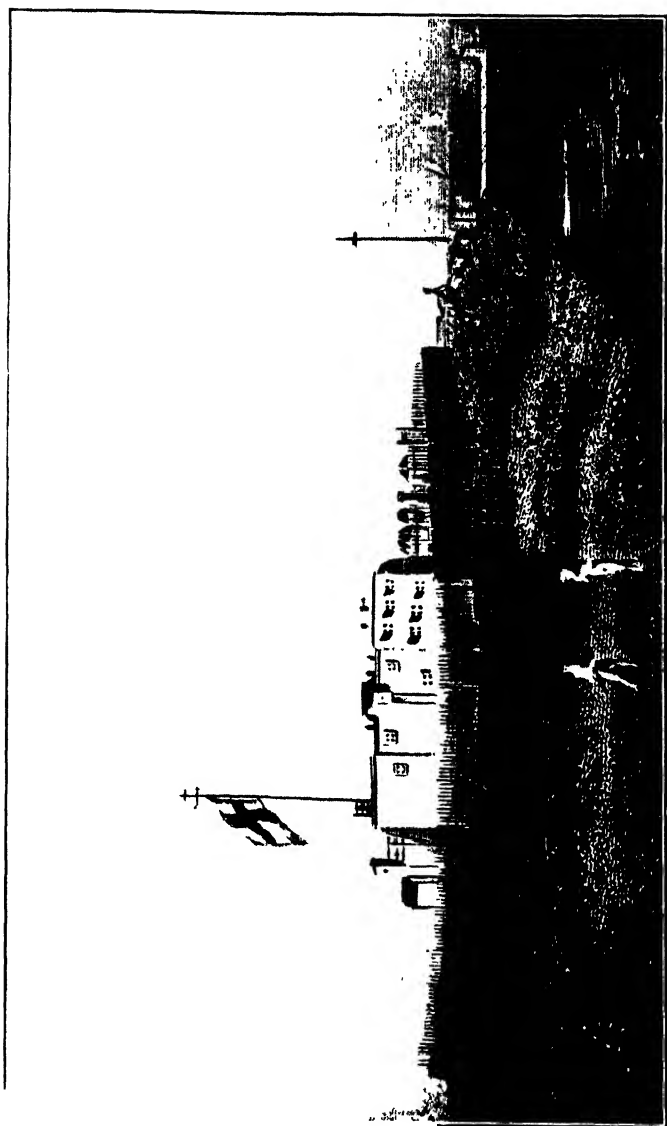
¹ Among the larger landowners of the coast districts of all the southern States there was a strong minority opposed to the Francomania and the anti-British policy.

British of Quebec, who in town and country now numbered about 30,000, from all three causes.

The contrast between the English townships and the French seigneuries in this as in other respects was as great as it was characteristic. The *habitants*, subdividing their holdings, remained virtually peasants, though well-to-do ones, with roomy, warm, comfortably furnished houses and a rude abundance. Every writer who knew them at this time and during earlier days speaks of them as the most materially comfortable and care-free people of their class on earth and at the same time as exhibiting a uniformity of condition hard to match. The seigneurs were already, through family subdivision of their tiny incomes derived from a fixed rent of about a penny an arpent (roughly an acre), sinking into peasants, though a few families from peculiar circumstances, character, luck, trade, or official prominence, maintained their prestige at Quebec or Montreal. The new British settlers again were on a higher plane than the *habitants*. They were yeomen owning from one to three hundred acres, mostly worked, to be sure, by the labour of themselves and their families, but with such measure of skill, energy, and ambition as ordinarily distinguishes the man of British stock. The increasing output of cattle and grain from the Eastern Townships was a sensible contribution to the commercial growth of the provinces. The small wealthy class of Canada, the magnates of the country, at that time were the fur traders, and most of the partners in the great firms were Scotsmen.

The Hudson's Bay Company had all this time their vast semi-arctic sphere of operations to the northward extending even then as far west as the Rocky Mountains, but they were entirely outside the scope of North American politics and affairs, till a much later day. It will be enough to say for the moment that British Canadian companies, the successors, as it were, of the old French fur traders, had already entered into competition with them in the west. Their sometimes bloody quarrels took place far away in what is

now Manitoba, and do not concern us except for the fact that



PRINCE OF WALES'S FORT, HUDSON'S BAY

the revenue derived from this trade helped materially the progress of the Canadian cities and produced a class of

capitalists of much power in the colony. And it may be well again to remind the reader that in spite of early attempts to make it so at the Loyalist settlement, land in Canada utterly failed to maintain an association with aristocratic ideas or a country gentry class. For reasons we cannot enlarge upon it was pre-eminently the country of the working farmer. To any other sort of ownership, outside that of mere speculation, land yielded neither wealth, pleasure, nor prestige.

Land-owning in Canada soon came to mean a farm of one or two hundred acres, which the owner worked himself, with little or no outside labour, and from Nova Scotia to Lake Huron it became identified almost entirely with the middling class of people and a laborious life. On any other scale or system of ownership Canadian farming land has never possessed any advantage or offered any attraction to the moneyed man and the educated class. In other colonies men have followed agriculture or the like with large capital on a big scale, and been the great ones, or among the great ones, of the country, envied and even looked up to by the professional man or the merchants of the towns. In Canada, however, it has always been precisely the reverse. This may seem strange to English readers in regard to a country that has prospered so by its agriculture. But the causes are obvious enough to anyone familiar with its physical conditions. At any rate, this absence of estates or even of large farms or 'gentlemen farmers,' and the singular uniformity in the matter of acreage and social degree of the farming class in all the old British provinces of North America is a fact of vital import to the understanding of the Dominion and its history. The exceptions are trifling, and in any case out of harmony with the prevailing economic situation, which in a generation or so from the first British settlements fell permanently into these lines.

The notaries, doctors, shopkeepers, and occasionally surviving seigneurs who formed the French four-fifths of the House of Assembly at Quebec, displayed sometimes to a naive degree their lack of inherited capacity for law-making.

They had drawn a crude conception of their powers from what they believed to be the functions of the British House of Commons; and, with the mistaken notion that the latter was the unchecked arbiter of the destinies of the British people, were quite surprised to discover that they could not dictate to their own, while, like other colonial Houses of Assembly, they had nothing like the power of the House of Commons. For the Governor and Executive could flout their measures and get along quite comfortably, if need be, without such supplies as they were empowered to vote or withhold. But the French Canadians had not demanded popular government, and were in fact not yet fit for it. As they had a semblance of it, however, they made the most of this with vociferous ingenuity till experience came to them. Things, however, went on fairly well after Jay's Treaty had quieted the United States. French revolutionary ideas had then but a small following in the two Canadian cities, and the Napoleonic wars, though shaking Europe, were far away, with a British fleet always protecting the North American coast. There was as yet little racial animosity, and controversial measures ran at least on wholesome cleavages of material interests, such as agriculture and commerce.

The *habitant*, too, was forgetting the fairy-tales with which he had been so sedulously pruned, and it was even thought that the militia would come out if the United States, to whom under a Jeffersonian administration Napoleon was paying court, became once more threatening. Educational matters were again to the front, as to which the French persisted in their ecclesiastical system of control and the principle that to Jean Baptiste a little knowledge was dangerous, while the British got their own schools without any friction. About the year 1806, however, the atmosphere began again to grow murky, and this time without incitement from abroad.

We cannot trace here the underlying causes, but the salient factor was the starting of a French paper, *Le Canadien*. Whether this journal merely blew the embers of a smouldering discontent into flame, or actually kindled

the sparks of it is too subtle a matter for these pages; but it voiced, at any rate, a lamentable change that was coming over the state of affairs in Lower Canada. The troubles were partly social and partly political, but they rent the country—that is, its articulate portion largely represented by Quebec and Montreal—in twain; or, to be precise, into three factions. It is difficult to paint the situation in brief; but as it was the beginning of a racial cleavage that has been marked in Canada ever since, though now fortunately shorn of the old bitterness, I must make the attempt.

What may be called the official class, represented by the Council, the officers of the garrison, the Governor, the wealthier British merchants and their friends, had been carrying things for some time with rather too high a hand. The French higher class, formerly treated with consideration both in posts of trust and in social life, were now gradually made to feel that they were regarded as inferiors. Nor was it only the French; but a British section of the community, more or less eligible for recognition, were gradually excluded from it by the civilian and military coterie that held the key to official and social honour. Above all, the popular House—the members of the Assembly, created, one may almost say, in spite of themselves—had more than risen to their opportunities, and chafed furiously at their impotence. The French Press entered the fray with clever and unbridled virulence, and the situation at length became so strained that French and English of the better class, who had formerly, though not intermarrying or greatly frequenting each other's houses, been nevertheless quite on friendly terms, would scarcely speak. The sore-headed portion of the British would have sided with the French, but the feelings of the latter were so wrought up and such violent things were uttered against the whole British connexion, that this was impossible.

Since Dorchester left, two Governors—General Prescott and Sir R. Milnes—had come and gone. The former had got into trouble by giving vent to his suspicions of corrupt dealing in land grants on the part of highly placed officials.

The latter had distinguished himself neither for good nor for evil, and in 1807 Sir James Craig arrived as Governor-



A FAN OF LOGS ON THEIR WAY TO THE OTTAWA RIVER

General. Craig is the ogre of Canadian tradition and of the more uncritical historian. He was sent out because war with America seemed again imminent, for he was an excellent soldier, having served with credit in all parts of the world. He was elderly and even older than his years from failing

health. He was no statesman, unless the stoutest Tory convictions constitute one ; but he was an honourable, straightforward, kind-hearted old soldier, and his traducers omit to mention, or perhaps do not always know, that when his approaching end three years later forced him to resign, the populace unhitched his horses and dragged his carriage between cheering crowds to the wharf. He was sent out to fight the Americans, which with good health he would have done to good purpose. Unfortunately, he found himself involved in a domestic inter-racial quarrel of a most acrid kind, the subtler causes of which he did not understand, while the actual ones he regarded as utterly incommensurate with the heat of popular passion, though this, it should be said at once, stopped short of serious intentions upon the British connexion. Holding the *Canadien* to be the prime offender, he seized its press and flung its owners into prison.

Prior to this, he had greatly outraged the *amour propre* of the Assembly by dissolving them with a stinging reprimand, in itself much to the point, for wasting their time and talent, to which the public had an exclusive right, 'on fruitless oratory and personal animosities.' Craig's action as a matter of fact was approved by his Executive and by a majority in the country. But he over-did things by a great parade of military precautions, which brought some not undeserved ridicule ; for the discord, though in truth serious enough, was not aimed at British authority as such. Craig, however, went home to die in 1811, and Sir George Prevost came out, and though immediately popular particularly among the French, whose language he spoke like a native - was in the end a sad failure.

Son of a gallant Swiss officer of the Royal Americans, or 60th Rifles, which was raised in America early in the Seven Years' War largely from German settlers and officered mainly by foreigners, Prevost had himself already done some useful soldiering in the West Indies and had been popular as Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, whose populace had already discovered that an Elective Assembly did not mean responsible government and were mildly chafing under another

oligarchy chiefly consisting of the higher class of United Empire Loyalists and imported British officials. It is of little consequence that Prevost's graces of person and manner, and social tact, had a soothing effect on the troubled sea of Quebec politics and society, for a storm was about to burst on the country that silenced for a time all domestic dissension, and in due course made many a Canadian wish for one hour of poor old Craig. The two men would in fact each have filled the other's place most admirably, whereas both failed at the particular task which fell to them.

The causes of the Anglo-American War of 1812 dated from many years back, and were mainly concerned with the interference with trade brought about by the great struggle between England and Napoleon. In 1806 the latter had issued the famous Berlin decrees, which declared the British Isles to be in a state of blockade, and prohibited all commerce with them. It was more serious for America when England replied with the much more effective *Orders in Council*, forbidding neutrals to make use of any port which refused to admit British trade. This was followed soon afterwards by a further order declaring all such ports to be in a state of blockade. The effect of these measures upon American trade was disastrous, and the feeling was still further embittered by the insistence of England on the right of searching American ships for deserters from her own navy. The difficulty experienced by the Americans in manning their battleships, the high pay offered when contrasted with the rigid discipline, indifferent fare, and poor pay of the British navy, offered great temptations to desertion. International custom undoubtedly recognised the right of search, but the identity in speech and race in this case, together with the bestowal of citizenship on any applicant by the United States, introduced great complications. America was justified in adopting as citizens all and sundry who came to her shores; but the Old World was not accustomed to this forswearing of nationality within a week or a month, and would not recognise it when practised under such conditions. England, it must be

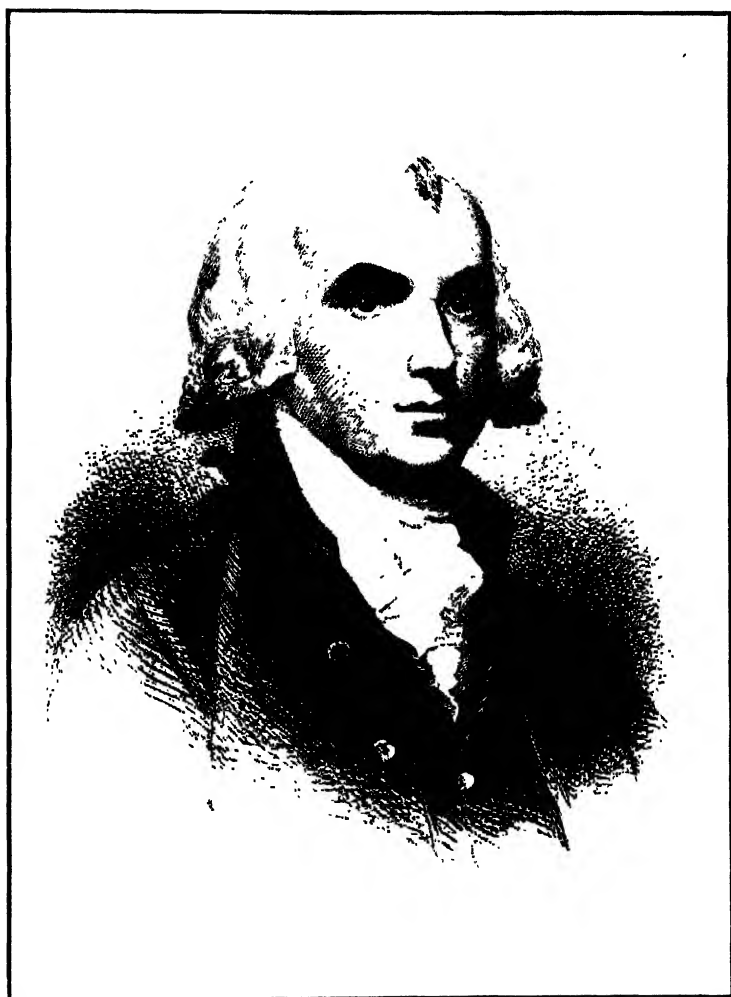
remembered, was fighting for her very life with half the world. She could not forego a single right that was affecting her safety, and she sometimes unquestionably strained her privileges. Jefferson and the Gallophile anti-British party were in power at Washington, and their cry for war was only held in check by the persistent refusal of the Opposition to join in it.

At length the 'war hawks,' as the current slang had it, proved too strong for the Peace party. Great Britain had offered to revoke the Orders in Council if Buonaparte would withdraw his decrees: a liberal enough offer since the latter, with the French navy driven from the sea, were only so much paper thunder, while the British edicts were but too real. There was no little trickery, too, on foot. Buonaparte was naturally anxious to embroil the Americans with his most powerful foe, and, furthermore, was just off to Russia to complete, as was supposed, the conquest of Europe prior to crushing England. He had announced to the Americans that the Berlin decrees were withdrawn, but refrained from notifying Great Britain of the fact. So the conditionally promised withdrawal of the Orders in Council did not at once take effect.

President Madison declared war on June 19, 1812. Four days later the British Government, still of course in ignorance of that declaration, withdrew the obnoxious Orders in Council. When the news reached America, hostilities had already commenced, but an armistice was negotiated by Prevost, and the American Government informed that the chief cause of the war was removed. But this mattered nothing to the party then in power at Washington. What they wanted was war, not concessions; and, above all, they wanted Canada. We shall see how they got a great deal of war, but not a foot of Canada.

Fortunately for us their nation was divided, a great majority in all the northern States denouncing the war. For one thing they abhorred Napoleon and all his works, and in assemblies and conventions loudly opposed this 'unholy alliance' with him. As the better-informed

and also more sea-going half of the Union, they better understood the desperate nature of England's struggle.



JAMES MADISON, PRESIDENT U.S.A., 1809-1812, 1813-1816

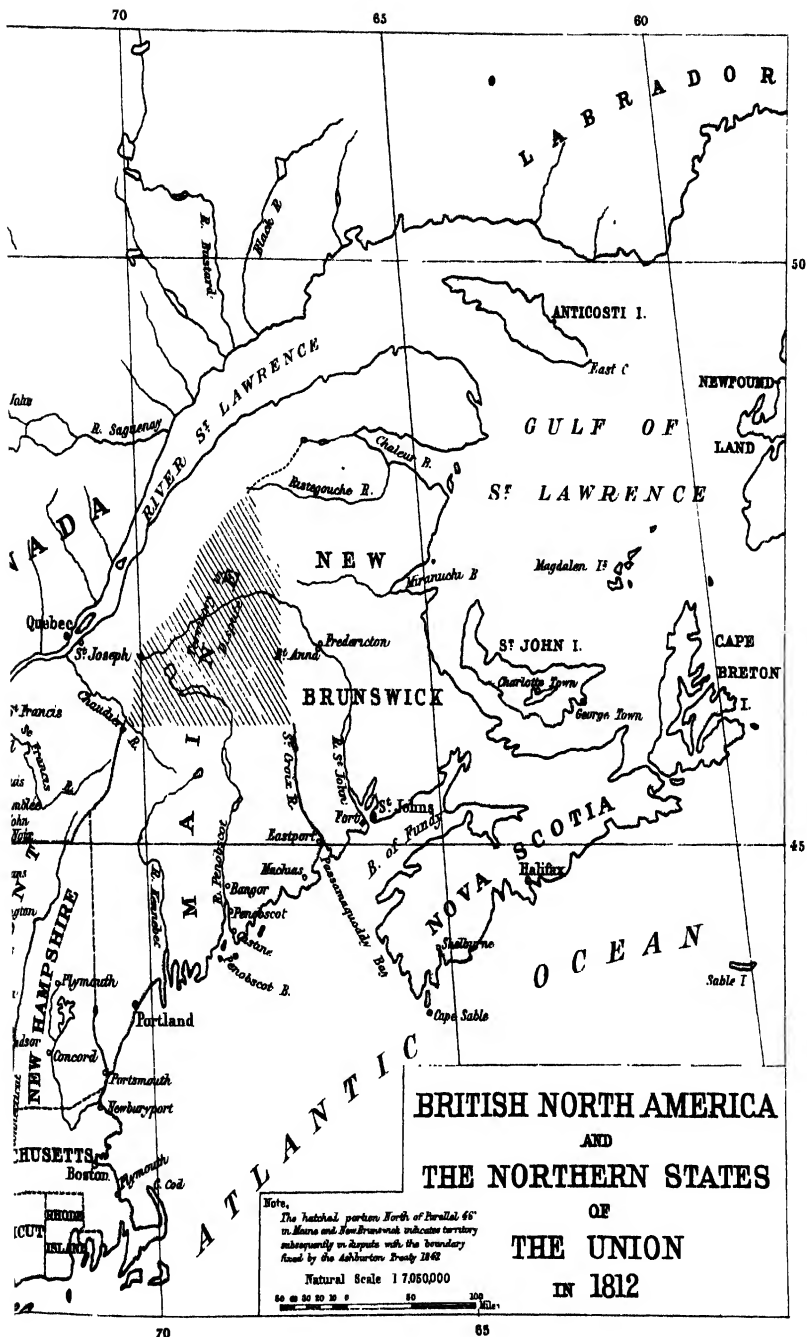
and made readier allowance for her occasionally high-handed measures. Finally, as the most commercial and most exposed section, the war to which on every account they

THE POLITICAL DIVISION OF CANADA

objected, would presumably fall upon their shores with heavier hand. For the 'war hawks' it was only a light-hearted march to Canada, where a majority of the population, so they professed to believe, would receive them with open arms. The New England States carried their objections to the point of non-participation, and as it was a war of aggression, not of defence, the policy may be justified. Thus the enemy were deprived of their most businesslike and on the whole most martial source of support.

But even thus the contest seemed hopelessly unequal. With a population of seven millions—half that of Great Britain—the voting of 35,000 troops and 50,000 militia seemed no undue exertion. The American regulars to be sure had no experience, and the militia with rare exceptions proved extremely bad. The canker of politics, too, was at work in all their dispositions and appointments. For the glory of conquering Canada, competition was extremely keen among the amateurs who had interest with the very amateur makers of the war at Washington. Madison the President was a clever, amiable Virginian country squire, not quite in whole-hearted sympathy with the aggressive Jeffersonian group; but they had just elected him for a second term on the understanding that he was to be a 'war President.'

But Canada concerns us most, and its apparent condition of helplessness was deplorable. Whether Great Britain in that hour of trial, out of the 300,000 combatants her distressed taxpayers supported in various fields of action or defence, could have spared more than the meagre four thousand odd that were available for the defence of Canada, or whether she could have supplied the means of fortifying some other points besides Quebec on a frontier of seven or eight hundred miles, cannot be discussed here. At any rate, she had failed either to garrison or to fortify Canada adequately. The maritime provinces it must be remembered were practically secure. For the Americans by sheer weight of numbers could push over a land-frontier, but a war of invasion that required a strong fleet was altogether another matter.



CHAPTER VIII

THE AMERICAN WAR OF 1812-1815

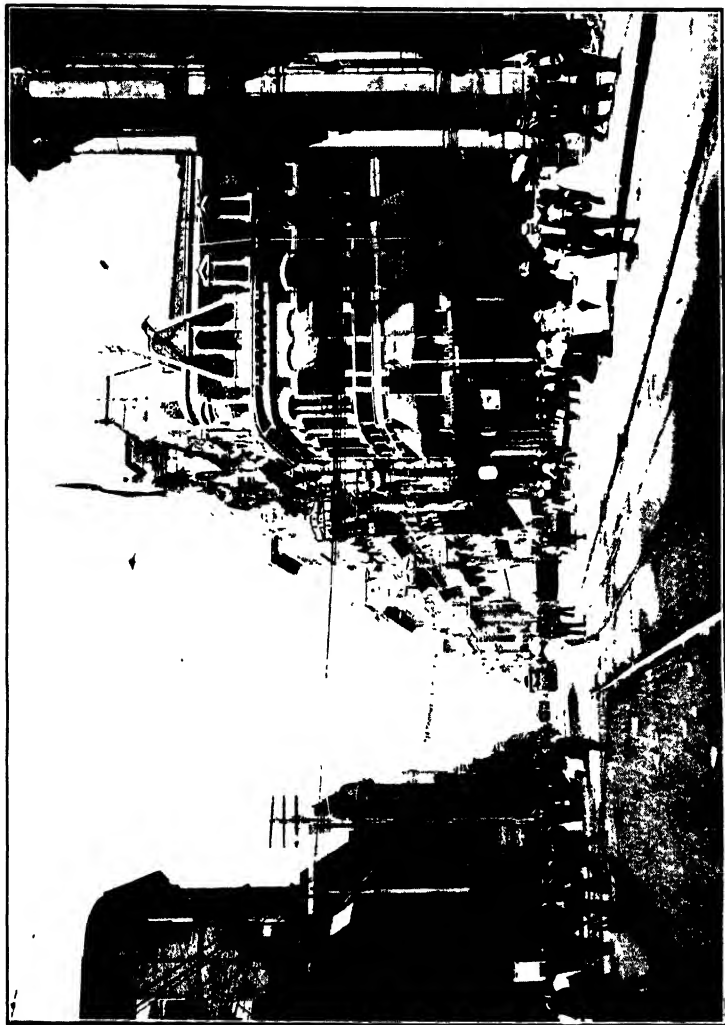
WHEN the long-expected war broke out, the mixed population of Lower Canada sank their bitter feuds with surprising and praiseworthy promptitude. In the American invasion of 1775-1776, French and English were on the best of terms, but the bulk of the militia, as it will be remembered, had proved utterly faithless. Now when the two races were barely on speaking terms they flew to arms with almost one accord. Something inexplicable, something due to unaccountable human impulse, still remains when the student of these times has exhausted all the underlying reasons that help to explain what on the face of it seems a paradox. Money, like everything else at this critical moment, was painfully scarce; but the Quebec Assembly promptly voted credit to the extent of their powers, and the few French militia regiments that were called out responded this time with alacrity. But one peculiar and vital consideration had to be regarded by Prevost. New England, as related, refused to move in this war, and it was New England and portions of New York, more or less in accord with her, that bordered Lower Canada. It was of supreme importance, therefore, that no provocation should be given these neutrals to change their attitude. Lower Canada, in short, was for the moment, and by comparison remained, outside the sphere of action. Both sides recognised that Lakes Ontario and Erie would control the situation, and Upper Canada, the immediate object of American attack, become the chief seat of war.

Since we left Upper Canada in these pages, some twenty years back, her population had increased to about 80,000.

Of these perhaps 25,000 were of genuine United Empire Loyalist stock or of the smaller influx immediately following of similar predilections. Of immigrants from Great Britain or Ireland, the larger part Scottish Highlanders and intensely loyal, there were certainly at this time less than 10,000. The remainder were Americans, of whose sentiments no one could speak with any confidence. Probably the bulk of them, still fighting the wilderness in their scattered forest homes, did not know themselves. It was certain that a large number were disloyal; but equally so, that the American Government, still with exaggerated anti-monarchical prejudices, immensely over-estimated their strength when they expected to be hailed by the mass of the Canadian population as deliverers from kings and tyrants. Their singularly incapable generals, active political lawyers in private life some of them, posed as so many Napoleons freeing an enslaved people, and addressed their armies and the Canadian objects of their solicitude, in turgid proclamations couched in the most approved Napoleonic thunder.

Newark at Niagara, the first capital of the upper province, had already been abandoned as such for Little York, then a rude isolated village, on whose site now flourishes the great city of Toronto. Stretching for two hundred miles along the shores of Lake Ontario, and here and there pressing inland, were the scattered clearings of the Upper Canadians, by this time somewhat closer together and spreading out into a pleasant farming country about Kingston and Niagara at either extremity where the United Empire Loyalists had chiefly settled. The leaders of these people had naturally worked to the front in the affairs of the province. They had emerged from the woods, and now chiefly filled the public offices of the colony. Many too had received in due course their share of compensation money from the Court of Loyalist Claims. Altogether they were well qualified to become the leaders, but they viewed with suspicion the promiscuous influx of American settlers and regarded themselves as having a prior claim on the province, and with some justice, as the fittest persons to guide its destinies

and to enjoy such modest plums as its Government had to offer. With the strongest martial traditions and every



reason to regard the invaders with deep-seated aversion, no more effective militia, so far as they went, as a support to the 1500 regulars in the upper province, could be imagined.

But even if the rest of the population remained only neutral, the prospect was of a truth gloomy enough.

Fortunately, the hour produced the man, and his career was as glorious as it unhappily was short. Isaac Brock, member of an old Guernsey family, had risen by active service to be Colonel of the 40th Regiment at the age of twenty-eight, and for the ten subsequent years of peace-service in Canada had been a most zealous officer and, moreover, an extremely popular one with the Canadians of all degrees. He was now a Major-General and Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada. He has been often compared to Wolfe, and that, not merely because he fell on Canadian soil in the hour of a glorious victory, but on account of the many characteristics he shared with that famous hero, though physically cast in a far robust mould. Brock had in Upper Canada the 41st (Welsh) regiment nearly 1000 strong, and about 500 men of other arms. The militia, mostly United Empire Loyalists, offered their services with alacrity, but from the scarcity of money, provisions, and arms, even less than 1500 could be at once equipped. The Americans prepared to descend on Canada in three divisions, the eastern wing by way of the old Champlain route to Montreal, the centre consisting of 6000 men against the Niagara frontier, while the third was to enter Canada from the Michigan side at Detroit, upon the extreme west. This last consisted of 2500 regulars and militia under the command of Hull, the elderly Governor of Michigan, and was the first to act. Beginning with a proclamation to the effect that, with a force which would bear down all opposition, he had come to rescue the Canadians from tyranny and restore them to the dignity of freemen, Hull crossed the river from Detroit into the thinly settled country about Sandwich, where his men did some pillaging of homesteads and a little skirmishing with the British Indians.

For it must be recorded here that six hundred of the Six Nation Indians who came with the United Empire Loyalists into Canada, volunteered for the war under their famous chief Tecumseh, and, as Canadian subjects fighting for their

soil, did good service. Brock, detained for the moment by administrative duties, had sent on Colonel Procter with some regulars, militia, and Indians to face Hull. Following himself as soon as possible, he took command of the small force of about 750 men, exclusive of Indians, which had already annoyed Hull considerably, cut off his convoys, and forced him back over the river to Detroit.



WINTER ON GRAND RIVER, ONTARIO

Brock, acting with great vigour, mounted guns within range of the town upon the opposite bank and opened a harassing fire, which was most feebly returned. He then sent a flag of truce demanding a surrender, which was defiantly rejected. That night he threw his Indians across the river into ambush, and in the morning with 300 regulars and 400 militia crossed himself, under cover of a well-directed cannonade. He was in the act of delivering his attack, when a white flag was displayed and a parley demanded, which resulted in the unconditional surrender of the town, including General Hull and his army.

Leaving his small force to occupy Detroit and to do a

good deal of severe fighting on Michigan territory throughout the autumn and winter, Brock now hurried back to the Niagara frontier, where the main attack was threatened. This surrender of 2500 well-armed men to 750 and a few hundred Indians created a feeling of rage and humiliation throughout the States out of all proportion to the numerical scale of the catastrophe, while its effect was instantaneous on the doubting and the disloyal throughout Upper Canada.



U.S. MILITIAMAN (1812), FORT MIFFLIN
AGE 50

By the dash of the British in several small enterprises against provisions and convoys which cannot be dealt with here, Hull had the excuse of being cut off from his base of supplies—a possibility that in common fairness he must be credited with having pointed out to the fiery politicians at Washington who ordered his movements. But he was tried, found guilty of cowardice and

condemned to be shot. President Madison endorsed the verdict, but repealed the sentence.

The central army of 6000 men, under General Van Rensselaer, now threatening Canada across the Niagara river was an even more serious danger. Their object was to form a lodgment on the Canadian side, establish a large camp, and from thence overrun and secure Upper Canada; for it must be remembered that they confidently expected the sympathy of the majority of Upper Canadians. The lower province would then be at their mercy. England they regarded as an exhausted power, tottering to its fall and unable to render much assistance; and, indeed, plenty of persons, it may be noted, who were much better judges

than these sanguine American 'war-hawks,' took a very similar view. The American generals, whose bombastic proclamations are curious reading, cheered their extremely raw militiamen with loud assurances that the British regulars were feeble, worn-out mercenaries, their inferiors in every particular. On the few occasions when the militiamen could be got to face these degenerates they were scattered like chaff. As a matter of fact the troops in Canada were happily of the very first quality, and till long experience had equalised matters were far more than a match for the half-disciplined American regulars. The U.E. Loyalists, too, who fought with them had more than the ordinary motives of men fighting for their homes and much more than the ordinary leaven of military tradition.

Now the course of the Niagara river between Lakes Erie and Ontario, then as now the international boundary-line, is some thirty miles in length. The Americans were grouped at its two extremities, about Buffalo on the Erie side and at Fort Niagara at the Lake Ontario end, confronting the British Fort George and the little town of Newark. A larger force lay six miles up the river below the Niagara rapids at Lewiston confronting the village and dominating the heights of Queenston. Only at this lower part and again towards its upper end was the famous river navigable. This frontier should be clear in the mind, since throughout the war it saw more hard fighting than any other part of the country. Van Rensselaer, of a distinguished old New York-Dutch family, a good amateur soldier, and above the level of his fellow-generals, was in chief command with headquarters at Lewiston, while Brock with only 1200 regulars and militia had to defend this long frontier. For any worthy account of this stirring little battle of Queenston Heights we have unhappily no space, but it was just before dawn on October 13 that, supported by about a thousand regulars and two thousand militia and a sufficient quantity of boats, Van Rensselaer began the attack on the Queenston shore. For some time, till supports could be brought up from other threatened points, about 300 men and a small

battery or two stationed at Queenston were its sole defence. There was a great deal of confused and detached but severe fighting, much sinking of boats, and considerable loss to the invaders till several hundred of the Americans, mainly regulars, ultimately succeeded in effecting a lodgment, and one of their officers familiar with the district led a body by a circuitous wooded path to the crest of the hill above the village, known and for all time to be immortalised as Queenston Heights.

Brock, who was at Fort George, at the first sound of the firing came on at a gallop over the six miles of road, calling up by the way the scattered posts along the river. As he came into action the Americans were already in considerable strength on the Canadian side. After giving rapid instructions at the different points of defence, during which time the hilltop was seized, as related, by the enemy, he was heading a charge up its slope for the purpose of recovering a captured battery of vital importance when he fell shot through the breast and died almost immediately. Discouraged by the fall of their beloved leader and for the present vastly outnumbered, though now somewhat reinforced, the British militia and regulars ceased their attacks and the day seemed lost. There was nothing to prevent the Americans, now in strength on Queenston Heights, from bringing over the rest of their forces and supplies. But their militia absolutely refused to cross the river, the returning boatloads of dead and wounded, it was said, having had a strongly deterrent effect on these raw troops whose impatience to be led into Canada had actually forced their General to precipitate action.

Some hours thus passed, and the Americans on the hill, mainly regulars, to the number of 1200, had plenty of time for congratulating themselves on their success while their General had ample opportunity for using all his powers of persuasion to bring over the militia, who alone were needed to complete the victory. In the meantime, however, Colonel Sheaffe of the 49th brought up some 600 more regulars and militia from Fort George and took command. Making a rapid flank march to the back of the hill and picking up

scattered units of the troops already engaged, together with 150 Mohawk Indians, he drew up about 1000 men in all for an assault at the rear of the heights. Half of his force were regulars, the remainder Loyalist militia, whose conduct was the complete antithesis of the poltroons' on the farther bank, who elected to watch their companions fight alone. The discipline of the redcoats, the *clan* of the militia, the rage of all at the death of Brock, and the skill of their commander combined, crowned this effort with signal and complete success. A single charge swept the enemy from the crest of the hill and secured nearly all but the killed and those drowned in the river below as prisoners. Eventually nearly a thousand Americans surrendered, and the battle of Queenston Heights was won.



MR. WILLIAMS, ONTARIO VETERAN
OF 1812

Canadians need no reminder of Brock nor of the victory; but the lofty obelisk on the hilltop erected in that brave General's honour has, it is to be feared, been the first acquaintance that thousands of British visitors to Niagara have made with the memory of an English hero, whose loss at the time was incalculable, and of a victory which at a critical moment had a moral effect out of all proportion to the numbers engaged. The mortification of the Americans at this second disaster was intense. The blame could not this time be laid on the shoulders of a general, as Van Rensselaer had made no mistakes, and was only saved from being captured with his active troops by the fact of his

having re-crossed the river to try and bring over the militia upon whose cowardly conduct the rage of their nation was justifiably vented.

For the rest of the year many thousand American troops lay upon one side of the river, and the slender British force of regulars and militia on guard upon the other. Another General, Smyth, who for bombastic proclamations in camp, and utter incapacity in the field, was even in this war unmatched, now took command of the Americans and with 4000 men made an attempt to cross the river at the Lake Erie end late in November, but failed. So the campaign was abandoned for the winter by 'the Army of the Centre,' the militia disbanded, and General Smyth given indefinite leave of absence by an incensed Government, who with their preference for political lawyers to army colonels as commanders had only themselves to blame. A good deal of hard fighting, however, went on between Colonel Procter and the Americans in the Michigan country below Detroit during the bitter winter of that region, when it required no little resolution even to keep the field. A thousand Kentucky riflemen had now appeared upon the scene, to be followed by more, and the handful of British defenders on the far western frontiers were sorely pressed. On January 22, Procter, at the head of a thousand men, by marching in the dark with the thermometer far below zero, surprised the Americans at Frenchtown, killed 400, and captured 500 prisoners. A third American army corps, it may be remembered, had gathered under General Dearborn to the eastward. Advancing up the Champlain route to the frontier of Canada with Montreal as his object, Dearborn got no farther, and after some fruitless skirmishing retired into winter quarters; for Prevost, it should be here stated, had extended a line of posts along the southern frontier of Quebec, which were held by the whole, or part, of three British regiments, some French-Canadian Voltigeurs, and a few militia of both nations. Two more regiments had in the meantime arrived from Great Britain, while such of the French-Canadian militia as were required for garrison

duty came out with readiness. The loyal spirit, indeed, was admirable, strengthened no doubt by the increasing confidence that a season mainly of triumph naturally engendered.

At the close of the year the legislature of Lower Canada met at Quebec. Prevost congratulated them on their loyalty and the success of the war, while they, on their part, responded with a liberal vote of money for its prosecution. But in Upper Canada there was already distress. Men could not abandon their farms for the battlefield in such numbers in so young a country without serious detriment to its food supply, drawn upon, as this was, to such an unusual extent. There were the widows and orphans of the slain, too, to be looked after, and the strain increased with each succeeding year, though patriotic societies in Lower Canada exerted themselves nobly for the material support of their fellow-countrymen who had to bear the actual brunt of the war.

In the meanwhile the Federal party in Congress continued to denounce the war as 'a cruel, wanton, senseless, and wicked attack, in which neither plunder nor glory were to be gained, upon an unoffending people bound to us by ties of blood and neighbourhood, undertaken for the punishment over their shoulders of another people three thousand miles away by young politicians, fluttering and cackling on the floor of the house, half hatched, the shell still on their heads and their pin feathers not yet shed - politicians to whom reason, pity, justice were nothing, revenge everything.' Thus spoke the celebrated Josiah Quincy of New England. Williams, the chairman of the military committee, replied: 'The St. Lawrence must be crossed by a well appointed army of 20,000 men supported by a reserve of 10,000. At the same moment we move on Canada, a corps of 10,000 more must threaten Halifax from the province of Maine. The honour and character of our nation requires that the British power on our borders should be annihilated in this campaign.' How these modest ambitions were replied to by Canada must be told as

briefly as possible.' It is characteristic of this complacent South Carolina slave-holder that in his design on Halifax he



had forgotten all about the British fleet which had swept all others from the sea. In connexion, too, with the naval aspect of the situation the isolated duels in which the heavily armed American frigates distinguished themselves in this war must not be forgotten, but they affected the naval supremacy of Britain nothing at all.

In the spring of 1813 the news of Napoleon's disastrous failure in Russia came as a prodigious shock to the war party in America, while it caused no little satisfaction in New England. The American army had, however, been increased to 55,000 men, and great things were expected of it. Naval affairs upon Lake Ontario had resolved themselves into a shipbuilding competition between the Americans at Sackett's harbour and the British in the Bay of Quinté, in which the American shipwrights had triumphed. Mutual raids across the here narrowing lake and outflowing river were in the meantime vigorously conducted, but without any definite effect.

Prevost was greatly blamed by his officers for his failure to take such action as might have destroyed, or greatly retarded the construction of, this hostile fleet. His neutral attitude towards New England was obviously discreet, but New York was much more divided in opinion than its eastern neighbours, and in any case its Lake harbours were the nursery of American sea power on Lake Ontario. So in 1813 General Dearborn was free to take a large force by water to York (Toronto), the new capital of Upper Canada, then a mere village of 700 inhabitants, which neither Prevost nor Sheaffe, now Lieutenant-Governor, had taken any precautions to safeguard. After a futile defence it was captured, the public buildings destroyed with all their documents, and the library pillaged and dissipated, a wanton proceeding replied to in the following year by a much more costly stroke of retributive justice, namely, the destruction of the United States legislative buildings at Washington. Sheaffe was superseded, while Dearborn sailed away in May to Fort Niagara at the mouth of the river, where he took command of the 6000 men mustered for the intended operations upon that fiercely disputed thirty miles of river frontier. To oppose them the British under General Vincent had about 1800 regulars and 600 local militia. After heavy fighting Fort George and the town of Newark were captured and Vincent pushed back to take up a position forty miles northward on Burlington Heights where the

city of Hamilton now stands. He was followed by 3000 Americans under Generals Chandler and Winder, both lawyers and politicians. But as they lay encamped seven miles from Vincent at Stoney Creek, Colonel Harvey, conspicuous among the many regimental officers who defended Canada with skill and valour through three years of arduous fighting, fell upon the Americans in the night with 700 bayonets, routing them utterly, and forcing them to fall back again on Fort George with the loss, from various causes, of 1000 men. Reinforced by the 104th regiment the British now reoccupied most of their old positions upon the Niagara frontier. Among their chief troubles in this remote, sparsely settled country, were the ever-insistent one of supplies, the machinations of the pro-American element among the later Canadian settlers, and not least the imperative demands of agriculture upon even the most ardent militiamen.

In the meantime British and American fleets, under Sir James Yeo and Chauncey respectively, were engaged in an indecisive struggle for the command of Lake Ontario. But in September a pitched battle, celebrated for the resolution with which each little ship of the Erie fleet fought to the last extremity, gave that lake to the Americans. This made Procter's position on the western borders of the province untenable, as he was dependent on water carriage for his supplies. He had maintained, however, a long and gallant stand against great numerical odds, had marched and fought in all the fierce extremes of weather upon American soil beyond the frontier, and now with 700 soldiers, mostly of the 41st, and Tecumseh's Indians, was forced to retreat through Western Canada. He was pursued by General Harrison, of some Indian-fighting notoriety, with 3500 men, including a swarm of Kentucky riflemen. When, with nearly half his men in hospital, he was pressed at last to a standstill, the four hundred who alone were able to form in line were ridden down in no time by a horde of Kentucky horsemen, supported by a strong column of infantry, and made prisoners. Tecumseh, the bravest and

noblest of all Indian chiefs, was killed, but Procter with a few mounted Canadians escaped, to stand a court-martial for some tactical errors in the retreat. This small, much-enduring force, which had captured an army of 2500 men and campaigned successfully for months in a frozen country, got scanty thanks even from their own Government, while Harrison in a bombastic account of his achievement called the worn-out handful he had ridden down 'cowards.' The Americans retired from Western Canada with such booty as they could lay hands on, while General Harrison, disbanding his militia, joined the army at Niagara with a thousand regulars, and there took part in the subsequent operations.

But by the end of this year, 1813, the second of the war, the Niagara frontier, its pivotal spot, was still held by the British, and not an American soldier remained anywhere upon Canadian soil. Before evacuating Newark, a pleasant, well built little town, an unsuccessful militia general had maliciously and without notice burnt it to the ground, thereby precipitating several hundred women and children into the rigours of a Canadian winter night. In the same autumn worse things than honourable disaster had overtaken the efforts of the American Government to gain a footing in the heart of Canada. For two armies numbering six and seven thousand men respectively, mostly regulars, had been launched against Montreal and both had failed under humiliating circumstances. General Wade Hampton of South Carolina, an amateur of intemperate habits and jealous disposition, had been entrusted with 4000 regulars and 1500 militia, besides artillery and cavalry. His base was the foot of Lake Champlain whence he was to approach Montreal, uniting on the way with the second army which, under General Wilkinson, an old soldier with a curious record, was to descend the St. Lawrence. In pursuance of this plan Hampton was marching down the course of the Chateauguay river in Lower Canadian territory when he found his path disputed by a French-Canadian force, with which he fought the battle of Chateauguay, one of the strangest in all military annals.



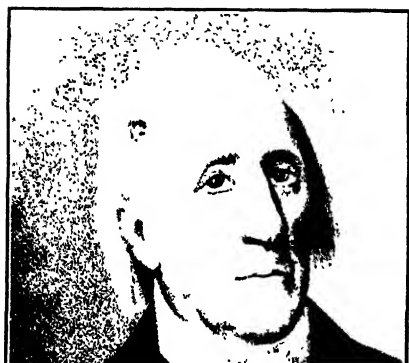
FALLS OF NIAGARA

Beyond this point the road lay through open country to Montreal, which was ill-fortified and only garrisoned by untrained and probably quite ineffective French militia; the serviceable defending force of this Lower Canada frontier being disposed in a long line of movable frontier posts. This region was within the sphere of the brave de Salaberry, a Canadian seigneur and colonel in the 60th Rifles, with a corps of 380 Voltigeurs in Crown pay. He was supported by Colonel Macdonell, a Canadian-Scottish Highlander, who had trained 600 French militiamen into a state of comparative efficiency. The American main body, after easily pushing the Voltigeurs back through the woods from their first defences, now encountered them again in conjunction with Macdonell's supporting militia and a few Indians, being met this time by a heavy fire. The delusion that a large force was before them was further encouraged by the clever ruse of dispersing Canadian buglers and whooping Indians through the woods, with the result that the whole American force retired and gave up the contest.

In the meantime two thousand more men who had been some hours previously sent round by Hampton to ford the river and take the Canadians in the rear had lost their way in the woods. When at length they reached the ford it was guarded by Macdonell's men, and the farther banks occupied by the main Canadian force, who opened such a brisk fire upon this fresh enemy as to complete their demoralisation and send them back into the woods, where in the confusion they fired freely upon one another, and ultimately found their way back to Hampton's camp at a belated hour. The entire casualties were not over a hundred, while the fighting had been mere skirmishing, but the result was considerable, for it caused Hampton to abandon the whole enterprise precipitately and march his army back to Lake Champlain. No explanation of the fiasco is necessary, for there is none. That Hampton drank and was jealous of Wilkinson and objected to the plan of campaign because it was not of his making, is the accepted American story, and doubtless the true one. It was a felicitous incident for his

opponents, however, as the heroes had been French Canadians, and but for their intervention the way was open to Montreal.

Wilkinson was in the meantime descending the St. Lawrence upon that vulnerable city, when just above the Long Sault Rapids, Colonel Morrison with 640 men of the 40th and 80th, and 200 irregulars forced him to the rearguard action of Chrystler's Farm, distinguished for the spirit and skill with which the 2000 men sent



U. L. L. A. V. L. R. A. N. OF 1812

into action by Wilkinson were ultimately repulsed with severe loss. Chrystler's Farm and Chateauguay share the honour of having saved Montreal. That a force of 7000 well-appointed men, with a practically defenceless city before them, should have thrown up the enterprise for the loss of four hundred seems incredible. That at almost the same moment Wilkinson got the news of Hampton's

face-about, though exasperating enough to that general, was no reason for following his example; but this, nevertheless, is precisely what he did do, and then took his army into winter quarters. Neither of these men, it may be mentioned, was court-martialled nor even censured, while Procter, who had battled against odds and hardship in the wilderness for eighteen months, was tried and severely reprimanded for want of dispatch in an admittedly inevitable retreat at the close of it. The contrast in the sense of discipline and military honour between the two services of that period is significant, and helps to explain the constant military failures of the

Americans up to this time. Prevost, however, wrote to his Government that the strain on the Canadians and his handful of regulars in the face of such great odds should not be tried too far, or they would consider themselves deserted.

The disgust evinced by those American States which favoured the war and had counted on an easy conquest of Canada, with the situation after two years' fighting, and above all with their generals, whose very names for the most part must by this time have made Madison shiver, was profound. As for the New England States who were suffering heavily in their ocean trade, more than one was actually threatening secession from the Union. In spite of the sound attitude of Lower Canada generally on the war question, and the good disposition of her militia, the Quebec politicians, far removed from war's alarms, could not repress their exuberant controversial ardour or the airing of their trifling grievances, which one might well imagine, when a small country was fighting for its very life, would have been deferred to a future occasion. But the *habitant* at least was satisfied, for he was getting fine prices for his produce. So were the Nova Scotians, New Brunswickers, and Newfoundlanders, trade of all sorts, legal and otherwise, coming their way under the agis of British sea power. But the poor Upper Canadians were dreadfully harried. What with fighting and farming by turns, to say nothing of the devastating march of armies and the treacherous behaviour of a certain number of their own population, they had all the knocks and none of the profits of war, and were fain to content themselves with its glory. Benevolent societies in Lower Canada had been doing their utmost to alleviate the distress, but the widows and orphans were many, and the long cruel winters sat heavily upon their wasted fields and empty granaries. Their legislature, now purged of some of its doubtful members, who at the opening of the war had shown the cloven hoof, played its part bravely, and cast aside those domestic disagreements, some of which had a very solid basis. Sir Gordon Drummond was now Lieutenant-Governor, and at the brief session in

February 1814, all their thoughts were turned towards ways and means for prosecuting the war. Burnt out of their Parliament House by the enemy, their former capital of Newark a heap of ashes, and many of their lands wasted, there was only one topic in their minds.

Before the ice had fully melted in the spring of 1814, when Wellington was pursuing his victorious way through France to Paris, Wilkinson was in the field, burning to retrieve his past failures. His main force was now at Plattsburg, on Lake Champlain, and consisted of 6000 men, one-third of whom he dispatched to Sackett's harbour under Brown, a capable commander, with a view to co-operation in his attack on Montreal. He then advanced with his own division, but was met at the Lacolle river a tributary of the Richelieu, by a small British force under Major Handcock, who in a sharp engagement withstood all his efforts to break through. At this first rebuff the American general marched his army back to Plattsburg, and this time, in his own case, to a very lenient court-martial, in which the evidence in his favour dwelt largely on the desperate bravery of the British, one company of the regiment 'charging the American guns under the concentrated fire of two whole brigades of infantry.' Attacks and raids continued along the lower end of Lake Ontario, Sackett's harbour, Oswego, and Ogdensburg being the chief points struck at by the British, while the fleets both of Yeo and Chauncey were concerned in these operations as well as with one another. But the main tide of war rolled back again to the Niagara frontier. The American regulars, hitherto wretchedly led, were now gradually hardening to service, and their regimental officers, who had only lacked experience, now the incubus of the political amateur general (though Wilkinson was an old soldier) was removing itself by costly and humiliating failure, began to show their natural mettle.

Brown, already mentioned, was also an amateur, though, unlike the others, endowed with a natural gift for war and leadership, and he now lay at Buffalo with 5000 men whom

he had brought into a good state of discipline. Of the 50,000 enrolled militiamen, scarcely any that were brought to the frontier proved of the slightest use. The cry of 'On to Canada' had for them, at any rate, long ago acquired another significance. These raw sons of the plough, from New York or Pennsylvania, were not qualified to meet the bayonets, few though they were, and the 'fire discipline' and contempt of death of what were then among the best troops in the world. They had no inspiring motives for risking their skins in such perilous conflict. There was none of the spirit of the men who had fought under Washington, nor again of the more organised New England militia of the French wars. For the American militia of 1812 from first to last decided that prudence was the better part of valour, and with rare exceptions could never be brought to the shock of arms.

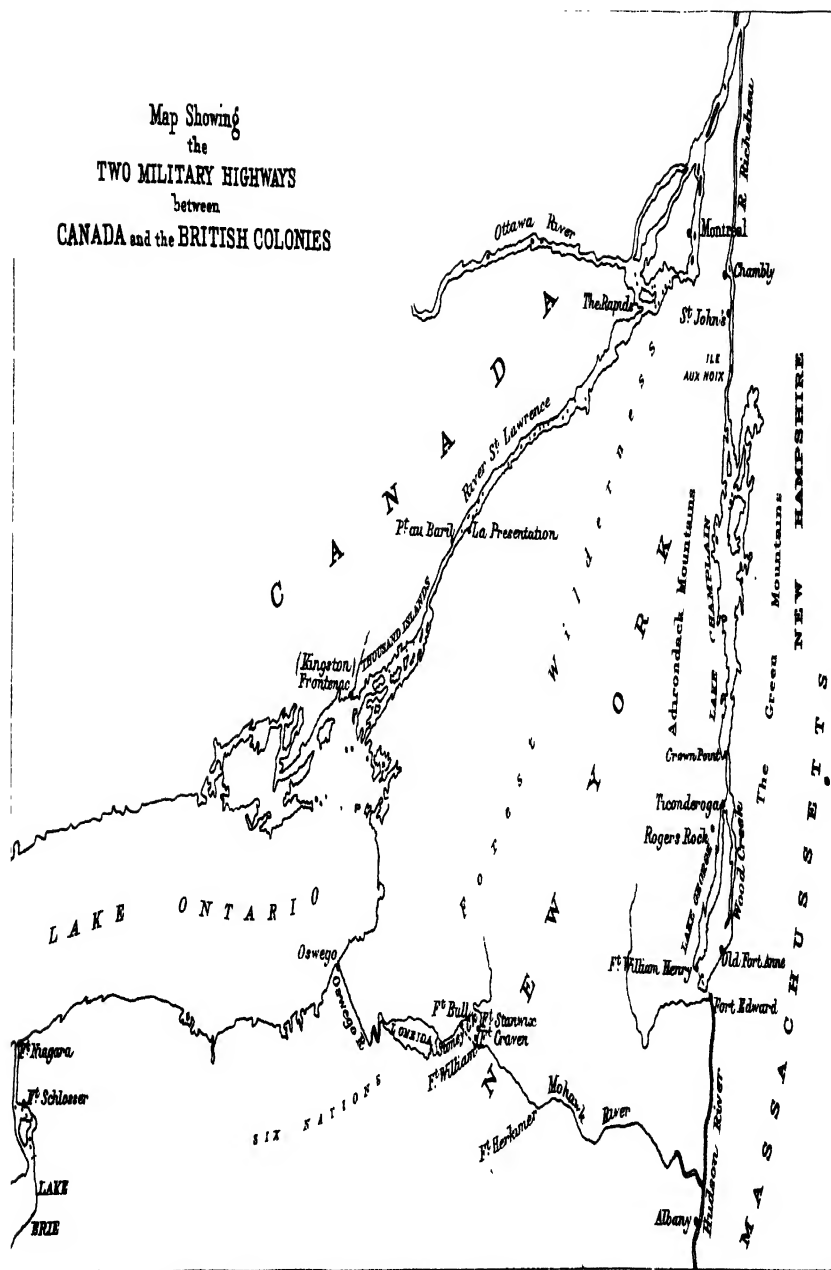
To the Upper Canadian militia the precise reverse of all this was applicable. The limited means of supporting and equipping troops limited also the number enrolled, so that these were practically of the very best United Empire Loyalist breed, the sons of or sometimes the men themselves who had fought the Americans before on another field, and had more, much more, than the ordinary scores of a merely lost cause to pay off. They were fighting, moreover, for everything they now held dear, and that, too, against an enemy whose intrusion on their soil held for them a peculiarly exasperating significance. No wonder, then, that the United Empire Loyalist was a soldier of different mettle from the Ohio militiamen! Above all, the friction that so often exists between regulars and irregulars fighting in the same cause was here quite absent. The fact is that to the student of this war, but a mere outline of the harassing details of which can be given here, it reveals a quite remarkable record of unflinching steadiness under difficulties, replete, too, with deeds of positive heroism such as on a more prominent stage would have rung down the ages. Great as were the performances of Wellington's troops in the Peninsula, the few regiments who in the woods of America

contended for three years against great odds, and against men of their own race, as naturally brave as themselves and with all the resources of their nation at hand, are equally worthy of renown.

Against Brown's 5000 men the British had 2600 of all arms on the Niagara frontier, and on July 5 was fought the battle of Chippewa on the open banks of the river above Niagara Falls. It was hotly contested, with no definite results, and a loss of one-fourth of his men to General Riall, the British commander. It is noteworthy that the former confident and successful British practice of delivering charges against greatly superior numbers was no longer effective, for the American regulars were becoming veterans too. Riall fell back towards Lake Ontario to form a junction with 800 Glengarrys and militia and some companies of the 163rd and 104th regiments, and then advanced again to Queenston to fight the battle of Lundy's Lane, the most hardly contested and fiercest of the whole war. The Glengarrys here mentioned who fought through this war, were a regiment raised among the Highland immigrants largely of the Roman Catholic Macdonells, who after some service at home had come out *en bloc* and settled in that most easterly county of Upper Canada, in the angle of the Ottawa and the St. Lawrence called by their name. The first contingents of Wellington's Peninsula regiments, just released by the occupation of Paris, were now, moreover, beginning to arrive in Lower Canada, and though not yet at the front, brought the Canadians the comforting assurance that the long strain was over, the crisis past.

Lundy's Lane, of famous memory, was a modest byway running inland from Niagara Falls, and it was on the plateau containing the resort so familiar to countless tourists of a later day that the battle was fought. Brown, supported by two or three excellent subordinates, brought rather more than 4000 men, though not all at once, into action late in the afternoon of July 25. The British numbered about 3000, nearly half of whom, owing to a misunderstanding, were marching and countermarching through the

Map Showing
the
TWO MILITARY HIGHWAYS
between
CANADA and the BRITISH COLONIES



whole of a broiling day, and did not reach the field till nine o'clock. The battle began about six, and was opened upon the British side by 1800 men under Drummond, who, as senior officer, had superseded Riall. A battery of guns planted on a ridge which ran along the British position was a main point of the enemy's attack, and after some severe fighting was captured, though not destined to be either utilised or carried away. For the second British division then came up in the dark and the battle raged furiously till midnight, when the Americans, not more exhausted than the British, retired from a contest which no chronicler of repute on either side has ever ventured to claim as a victory. The British, to be sure, lay down where they had fought, and the enemy retired, and as thus, his last effort to break through into Canada, failed, the fruits at any rate remained to the British. They lost, however, a third of their number, and the Americans a quarter of their larger force. On the American side a prominent and in after years distinguished officer, Winfield Scott, was badly wounded, while on that of the British Riall was both wounded and taken prisoner. Drummond himself and Morrison, the hero of Chrystler's Farm, were also wounded. Within sight of the lofty shaft on Queenston Heights, commemorating a noble soldier and the defeat of the first attempt at invasion, there rises on the lower ridge of Lundy's Lane a humbler obelisk in memory of what may be called the last attempt and of the stubborn infantry, British and Canadian, who fell in repelling it.

The Americans, having flung a considerable portion of their stores into the river, now retreated to Fort Erie, within their own frontier. A little later the American General Izard, who had been at Chateaugay, was here in command of 8000 troops for another attempt on Upper Canada, but Lake Ontario had been at length won by Yeo and two Peninsula regiments sent forward to Drummond's support. Such serious fighting as was now waged on this war-worn frontier by Drummond was mainly of an aggressive kind, and though much of it was spirited enough, it calls for no notice here. It will be enough to say that at the end of the

year there was not an American soldier on Canadian soil, while the American forts of Niagara and Michillimackinac (captured early in the war) once again flew the British flag.

In November the Americans retired from the frontier, and after three years of fighting Upper Canada was still intact, though much ravaged and more pronounced than ever as regards its ruling element in its political convictions, which henceforth its people were left in peace to cultivate. Nothing now remains to tell of the war but the inglorious use which during the last year Prevost made of sixteen thousand Peninsula veterans that had arrived in Canada during the summer. Two or three regiments, as related, had been sent on to the upper province to make good its losses and strengthen the position. Of this, the most effective force for quality and numbers combined that had ever trodden American soil, about eleven thousand were available at Montreal for any enterprise. The situation was now reversed. The Americans as invaders had virtually ceased to exist, and though struggling, as we have seen, to get into Upper Canada, could not in any case have held it. If any invading was now to be done, Wellington's troops would most assuredly be the aggressors. But was it worth while? The English people had never professed an enthusiasm for the war. With a world in arms and Napoleon on their hands it had seemed but a mere irritating side issue which they did not want and could ill afford. The Americans, too, even the war party, eager though they were for the capture of Canada, were by this time heartily sick of the attempt. But diplomacy and communications were slow. Canada was now safe and the British Government, still absorbed in European affairs and freed at last from the arguments for peace that were urgent in 1812, made no overtures.

During this summer, too, a strong British expedition, in addition to some other small raids, landed in Maryland, swept away all military resistance, and burnt the public buildings at Washington as a reprisal for the wanton burning of York, Newark, and other villages and homesteads in

Upper Canada. Though perhaps impolitic, this was quite justifiable, but it naturally raised an uproar in the United States, and Southern political orators, after the manner of that day, ransacked classical history for a parallel outrage, though the ashes of two Canadian capitals, metaphorically, still smouldering, stared them in the face. Prevost had been looking so ardently for peace all through the war that he had been in most respects a failure as a War Governor, and had entirely forfeited the confidence of his subordinates. At a critical moment he had ordered the evacuation of the Niagara frontier and all Western Canada, a catastrophe which was only averted by the commanding officer having the courage to ignore the order. He was much given, moreover, to converting aggressive enterprises, which should either not have been attempted at all, or else carried to an extremity, into 'demonstrations.' And now he had this formidable army in Canada, and perhaps with some excuse did not quite know what to do with it. The Home Government, however, intimated that these fine regiments were not sent out to garrison Montreal and Quebec, but to strike a blow across the frontier. So Prevost struck out with them on the old war route by Lake Champlain for Albany, and at Plattsburg, on the last-named lake, twenty miles within their frontier, the Americans decided to make a stand, which General Macomb, the excellent officer in command, regarded as hopeless. He had but 1500 regulars and a horde of hastily mustered militia whose reputation for inefficiency was established beyond dispute. A little fleet had been built by the Americans at Plattsburg, while lower down, in Canadian territory, the British had almost completed a rival flotilla to dispute the supremacy of Lake Champlain for the furtherance of land operations.

It was an easy march over plain roads through the pleasant autumn woods for these hardened sons of war. The American general sent out some of his militia to check their advance, but they ran, as he relates, at the very sight of the British, who did not even deign to fire on them. Some guns, however, were brought to bear on the main

advance and effectively handled, but so undaunted were these superb troops, continues Macombe, that they did not even trouble to deploy under his fire but came on in columns. When they arrived within touch of the American lines, which a force of such size and quality could have carried in their stride, so to speak, with ease, Prevost sat down for five days waiting for his little fleet while Macombe worked hard at his defences, which in no case, to be sure, could have been held, but would have entailed more sacrifice in the carrying. In due course the little fleet arrived and engaged the rather larger American one in Plattsburg harbour with disastrous result. Then, to the amazement and delight of the American general and the unspeakable disgust of his own officers and men, Prevost, after destroying his stores, marched his Peninsula veterans back to Canada, having lost a few score men from the American fire. This ill-placed Canadian Governor had, in truth, the maxim of 'naval co-operation' exaggerated to a mummy. If he had destroyed the American works and scattered their force before returning, the question of further operations would have been legitimate, as Canada was in any case safe. But to retire with loss, even though trifling, and without returning a single blow, was not only held as an insult to the troops he led, but spoiled by a deplorable fiasco the close of a war which, as regards Canada, had been conducted with an unbroken record of spirit and courage under great difficulties. Prevost's perverted sense in dealing with a combatant enemy, and his apparent lack of feeling for the honour of men under his command, had displayed itself several times during the war; but this sensational finish brought a prompt summons home to a court-martial. The singular temperament of a man in many other respects efficient displayed itself in a quite curious inability to see that he had done anything out of the common or given cause for resentment! This appears to have aggravated the shock of his disgrace, and he died before his somewhat belated trial came on.

To the relief of all parties peace was proclaimed early

in 1815. Thus ended a war which brought loss and suffering upon all concerned, except, strange to say, those British North American provinces, Upper Canada excepted, which were marked out as victims by the promoters, who had profaned the name of liberty in a violent attempt to coerce a free people into their own particular conception of it. Neither England nor Canada nor the Northern States of the Union had anything but an aversion to its undertaking. It was the work, speaking broadly, of the Southern States, who not merely failed but suffered many humiliations in the failure. Their own coasts were invaded, though the damage there done was trifling compared with the enormous losses caused by their long exclusion from all markets. By a further irony of fate, almost the only laurels gathered by the Americans were in futile naval duels fought mainly by ships built and manned in those Northern maritime States that as communities denounced the war and took little part in it.

Upper Canada, though sorely tried by this severe ordeal, was tried to some purpose. It weeded out disaffection, it cemented and strengthened the Loyalist population with the sense of fine achievements and of victory, and started them in the world with memories and traditions that have never been and never will be forgotten, and such as few new countries are privileged to possess. It furthermore forced the sympathies of the hitherto indifferent portion of Canada's English-speaking people into the British connexion. Above all, the French and English had fought side by side against a common enemy for their common country, and in future, whatever the troubles of Canada, racial or otherwise, and these were many, they were almost wholly of a domestic nature. The question of the two provinces becoming the fourteenth State of the Union disappeared, and with it, since so much must be said for the war of 1812, one constant cause of suspicion and jealousy between Great Britain and the United States.

Without wishing for a moment to detract from the generally loyal attitude of the French in the war of 1812-1815,

the extraordinary statements made by later generations of the proportionate part they played, echoed and re-echoed in press and on platform in this country through sheer ignorance, are to be deplored. To falsify history for the sake of flattery or promoting good will is contemptible, and more than that, it tends to depreciate the too readily forgotten services of a handful of heroic British soldiers and the valour and suffering of the loyalists of Upper Canada. If the oft-repeated phrase that the French Canadians 'had twice saved Canada for Great Britain' implies that if they had revolted on these two occasions the country was lost, it is quite true, though in 1775-1776 even so much requires modification. But the statement, by constant reiteration, has, it is to be feared, acquired a more direct meaning, in which sense it is nothing less than egregiously misleading.

The treatment of the American Loyalists after the Revolution proved indeed a two-edged sword. But for that intemperate policy British Canada would never have been founded. The little reactionary French colony with the wilderness behind it would probably have fallen by arms or the mere force of its Americanised hinterland into American hands. But the exiles of that period made Canada aggressively British, and enabled England to keep it so. To these two events, the Loyalist exodus and the war of 1812-1815, the great Dominion of to-day owes her existence. In the exuberance of her material prosperity, the egotism of ill-read politicians, or the worship of money, and the rushing waves of new settlers, the dramatic origin and eventful youth of British Canada are only too apt to be forgotten even by her own people.

CHAPTER IX

MATERIAL DEVELOPMENT AND POLITICAL UNREST, 1815-1837

THE Treaty of Ghent restored everything to the *status quo*. With the fall of Napoleon the main causes of strife automatically ceased. The Orders in Council had been long rescinded, while the search for deserters and the impressment of seamen claiming American citizenship had with the advent of peace little further significance. One final link between North America and the European world, with whose turmoil she had throbbed in sympathy for sixty years, will probably come as a surprise to the reader, who is not likely to associate Canada with the battle of Waterloo ! Now everybody knows that at that immortal fight the quota of the British infantry had to be hurriedly made up to strength with recruits and militiamen, a fact which so much the more enhanced the glory of their stubborn valour. But not many remember that this partly arose from the fact that when Napoleon broke away from Elba for those notable 'hundred days' 16,000 of the cream of Wellington's Peninsula veterans—in other words, more than half the number of British bayonets that were actually mustered at Waterloo—were at that moment in Canada. Western Europe and the Americas were always, indeed, reacting upon one another in matters naval, military, or political. Henceforth this common nerve organism was virtually to cease, the links to be cut, and both Canada and the United States left to work out their own respective destinies uninvolved, to any extent worth mentioning, in European complications. If 1815 is the most luminous date of modern times in Europe, it also marks the line

between Canada in the making and Canada made ; between storm and stress, constant peril from within and without, doubt and uncertainty, wars and rumours of wars on the one side, and on the other humdrum peace and security, disturbed by nothing worse than internal political friction and one or two petty and abortive risings.

To Nova Scotia and New Brunswick peace brought a not



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wholly welcome reaction. For an artificial prosperity had accrued to these seaboard provinces during the late war and the years preceding it, when the trade of all foreign countries was controlled and policed by British sea power. Not merely had England bought freely of their timber and victualled her fleets and garrisons at their ports, but, as in the West Indies, these last had been a base of privateering enterprise and all the profits accruing to it. By such means the maritime provinces had received a great impetus that, in spite of an inevitable reaction, proved of lasting value. Lower Canadian agriculture, too, prospered greatly by the war prices ; but the harvest of the sea was not

reaped by a community, chiefly landsmen like the French Canadians, while Quebec, seated hundreds of miles up a river, though the trading port of the Canadas, was not otherwise in the way of ocean traffic and its prizes.

Sir Gordon Drummond, the spirited commander of the Niagara frontier, succeeded Prevost as Governor of Canada, and was followed by Sir John Sherbrooke of favourable memory. It might well have been hoped that the common triumphs of Canadians, French and English, in the late war would have provided a basis for a new and better understanding. But unhappily such natural anticipations proved delusive. It cured the French, to be sure, of any further flirtation with the Americans, while all dreams of reunion with Old France were now practically dead; nor was there much further serious question about their loyalty to the British Crown. That was quite a different thing, however, to running smoothly in double harness with English-speaking British Protestants. It matters nothing that most of the latter were Anglo-Americans, for the temperament which irritated the Frenchman and was in turn provoked by him was identical in both varieties of Briton. An English Governor might be absolutely impartial and correct, but he could not alter human nature, and it is idle blinking the fact that the ordinary folk of the two races were hopelessly antipathetic. Fortunately they occupied, for the most part, separate districts of the province, but the representatives of the French far outnumbered those of the others in the House of Assembly. This inequality was more than counter-balanced by the preference given to the British in the Legislative Council and in the higher Crown Offices, a preponderance partly natural to the traditions of that period and partly due to the fact that the number of French Canadians eligible for such posts was limited.

The people of the province had in truth been given the shadow without the substance of popular government; a disability, if such it then was, which they shared, it must be remembered, with Upper Canada and the maritime provinces,

whose people were* far more politically educated than the lately emancipated French Canadians. It was probably a wise restraint in all the provinces, while in Lower Canada it was indubitably such. But the objects of this cautious policy could hardly be expected to realise its wisdom or admit their immaturity.

It would have been, doubtless, well for Lower Canada to have been governed for some time to come as a Crown colony. But the British-American influx had made this impossible. If the latter could have had the prescience to forego for a generation their traditional rights, they would have been at least as happy, and in fact as free, though expected to regard themselves in the cant of the day as 'slaves.' The situation resolved itself into an Assembly, mainly French, and continually struggling for powers which their very proceedings showed them ill qualified to wield, against an Executive reserving to itself the control over a sufficient portion of the revenue to make it virtually autocratic, while the friction thereby engendered vastly intensified the mutual distrust and dislike. Politics in Quebec again relapsed into a mere question of race hatred, though there was always a small British party in the Assembly upon the side of the French majority, some of whom honestly resented the exclusive flavour of the Administration, apart from the race question, besides others who merely felt the personal slight involved.

In a political race conflict there are always great material possibilities for the few who range themselves against their natural blood affinities. They take a place of honour, irrespective of their merits, in the hostile camp, and can well afford the boycott of their own compatriots in whose ranks they might have remained obscure. The political struggle, then, in Lower Canada consisted of attempts by the Assembly at full control of the revenue and the civil list, and their bills were almost as regularly thrown out by the Legislative Council. There were plenty of abuses on which a democratically inclined Assembly could plausibly fasten. Offices and posts were bestowed by the Government



in sympathy with the aristocratic tendencies of the day. Favouritism was rife, or in other words friends of the Government, who were mainly of British blood and generally allied to the upper ranks of society, got all the plums. It was not the twentieth century, and no doubt a more equitable distribution of offices would have been much better, though the party patronage we see in Canada to-day is a notorious and admitted blot on the body politic. But feeling ran high. The British claimed to have treated the French Canadians with unexampled generosity after the conquest, which was absolutely true. The French admitted this, but as that period grew more remote they urged that the last sign of a conqueror's privileges should be now obliterated, that favours should be more evenly distributed, and that the popular Assembly should be financially paramount. The Government might point to the fact that neither Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, nor Upper Canada had yet that privilege and furthermore hold the honest opinion that these perfervid notaries and doctors of Quebec and Montreal were not yet to be trusted, representing as they mainly did, an inert mass of illiterate peasantry, happy and contented without any grievances; while to give them preference in this respect over neighbouring British colonies would assuredly have been grotesque. But the French-Canadian politicians did not think so. In 1831 the Home Government actually offered the Quebec Assembly the control of the revenue, reserving a certain sum for the salaries of the Governor, the Executive, and the Judges. The fact that in their violence they rejected so considerable an instalment is a proof of how little these immature politicians understood that art of compromise which was and is a leading tradition of the British system they were clamouring for in all its completeness.

The quarrel gradually extended itself into the relations of ordinary life, and race feeling raged high in and around Montreal and Quebec. For the vast mass of the French population, namely the *habitants*, practically never set eyes on an Englishman, nor, as was sorrowfully admitted by the

most fiery politicians, could be made to understand that they suffered a single hardship, nor did they; while the 40,000 British who now occupied the Eastern townships rarely saw a Frenchman. These latter, however, found it a great inconvenience to live under the French civil law with the obligation of travelling north to Montreal for the settlement of their cases in the French courts. So when, with a view of alleviating this unhappy state of tension, it was proposed in 1832 by the British Government, prompted by the merchants of Quebec and Montreal, to unite the two provinces, the Quebec British, both urban and rural, naturally welcomed the project with ardour. Not so, however, the French majority, whose opposition was fierce and for the present successful. They had no mind to be swamped by a British partner, who by the aid of immigration was far exceeding their own rate of increase.

The Duke of Richmond had succeeded Sherbrooke with indifferent success as an administrator, and died of hydrophobia from the bite of a tame fox. He was followed by Lord Dalhousie, whose undoubted abilities were unequal to allaying a tempest with which no ability could cope. It was in his day that the union of the provinces just alluded to was proposed as a remedy and for the present abandoned. It would be impossible to enlist the reader's interest in any detailed account of the long and fierce wrangle which lasted in Lower Canada till it came to a head in Papineau's abortive rebellion of 1837. Conciliatory as well as 'firm' Governors, Whig or Tory blowing alternately hot and cold, found themselves regarded with much the same sentiments by the Assembly and their position practically ineffective for good. The solid and overwhelming opposition for this whole period was led by lawyers and doctors, mostly sprung from, but no longer of, the peasantry. Nor is there any escaping from the fact that these men were demagogues striving for a full control of the revenue, and, consequently, the power of bringing government to a deadlock. Indeed much more than the powers of the British Constitution was their avowed aim; for they demanded an elective Upper House, or in

other words, that one of the two races in the province, and that by far the least capable, was to rule the other, the more politically intelligent and the wealthier, while the Governor's veto, the only safeguard left, was to be met by a refusal of his salary and of all supply.

It is wonderful that sane and even clever men could conceive of a Government or a nation stultifying itself in such fashion. One can imagine a minority in a recently conquered country, like the British merchants of Quebec in 1763, demanding ascendancy. But that the people of a conquered country who had been treated with extraordinary generosity should expect, above all in those dangerous war-like times, to be given absolute power over 50,000 British subjects between whom and themselves passions ran high, is incredible. A certain supercilious arrogance as a British vice in such situations is frankly admitted, so one feels free to say that vanity was a leading weakness of which the Old French themselves habitually accused their Canadian colonists.

The essentially raw if clever politicians of the Quebec Assembly held a different view of their capacities for untrammelled authority over a mixed population from that held by their rulers, who at least were men of the world with some equipment for administration and for judging of such matters. It is also well to note that the legislative enterprise of the French Assembly was mainly factional, and virtually ignored that material enterprise which in a new and crude country should be the first object of legislative solicitude. Such vital things, for instance, as roads and water communications were left to the archaic methods of the old French *régime*, to the very righteous indignation of the British settlers. As the entire French rural population were absolutely contented and prosperous after their primitive fashion, one may well ask whether the political violence of a bourgeoisie demanding full powers that their politically educated British neighbours had not yet been granted should invite our sympathy. It was regrettable that a bureaucracy, with the inevitable faults belonging

to it, should have met these aspirations in private life in the contemptuous fashion it is to be feared it did. Whether the perfervid French politicians did more to stimulate this attitude, or the attitude to lash the demagogues, does not now matter. It is enough that, while nine-tenths of the population, British and French, of Lower Canada pursued a happy, prosperous life, that fraction which inevitably and perhaps disproportionately makes history lived the proverbial life of the cat and dog.

The discontent was not wholly confined, however, to the small but noisy urban part of the population, for the exclusive habit of the bureaucracy, socially and otherwise, irritated no little portion of the Anglo-American community, who it will be remembered, were not now in the main of U.E. Loyalist stock. But beyond that it is difficult to say whether such discontent was not largely caused by living under a Government which tolerated an Assembly that neglected all practical and useful legislation and devoted most of its time to vindicating its own *amour propre*. Their conduct, moreover, occasioned no little inconvenience by withholding supplies not indeed vital to government, which had alternative sources of revenue, but vital to finance in many other directions of urgent interest to progressive farmers or traders.

Upper Canada in some respects offers a more interesting field of brief survey between 1815 and 1837. The great political feature of the province and the period was the 'Family Compact,' a notable institution, though unfamiliar enough to English ears. To every educated Ontario Canadian distinctly or indistinctly it will represent one of the great facts of Anglo-Canadian history. On the whole it was a picturesque though not easily definable combination. It roughly represented the articulate element of the old U.E. Loyalists, who regarded Upper Canada, and not altogether unnaturally, as the spoil of their bow and spear, by virtue of their early toil and sufferings in its plantation and their subsequent expenditure of blood and valour in its defence.

Now before the war of 1812, as previously narrated, a large number of the higher class of these people had freed themselves from the hard backwoods conditions of life that necessity had for the moment forced upon them. With the formation of a Provincial Government in 1791, it was natural that several of such modest posts as it afforded should fall into their hands, while with the growth of the colony, the scope for professional and mercantile enterprise enlisted at once a certain number of those qualified for it. Furthermore three million sterling had been eventually, after unavoidable delays, distributed through the Loyalist Court of Claims among the refugees in Nova Scotia, Canada, and elsewhere. A fraction of this found its way into the grim woods of Upper Canada and brought relief and comparative substance to the recipients. There were also, it will be remembered, numbers of ex-officers of Loyalist regiments who were in receipt of half-pay.

These people, though they mostly shared the early hardships of this their inaccessible country, were enabled in a number of cases to escape from its terrors and assume in a neighbourly propinquity something of their old status, collecting in the little towns and settlements such as Kingston, Toronto, and Niagara. Land-owning in a comfortable and aristocratic sense was impossible in the woods of Upper Canada. The 'country gentleman' life was out of the question. There was little source of revenue beyond what a man could make himself by manual labour. Clearing was too slow and costly, hired labour too scarce and dear, the attractions practically nil. So the more fortunately placed among this element gradually collected in and around the little towns, held Government appointments, started in business or practised a profession. The upper and governing class of British Canada became, in fact, an urban society, and they governed the more easily as the mass of the population were buried in the woods with neither time nor opportunity nor, for many years, means of communication enabling them to dispute the authority which their social superiors gradually acquired. This cleavage between

the governors and the governed, the 'common people' and the 'gentry,' as many had the hardihood to phrase it, had begun before the war of 1812, to develop much more fully after it.

Farming as a livelihood has rarely been followed by the sons of the higher classes in Canada or the maritime provinces. The hard manual work for comparatively small rewards, the democratic level of the farming community, the absence of social amenities from the educated man's point of view and its limitations generally have united to condemn it utterly as a career in the eyes of the more educated class who carry on the liberal professions and the wholesale trade of the country. The exceptions are too insignificant to count, and in regard to any of the old provinces of the Dominion either of to-day or yesterday, the reader will do well always to bear in mind that virtually the whole of the agricultural population are a land-owning yeomanry, labouring with incessant toil on their own moderate-sized farms. Hundreds of Canadians born on farms have risen to distinction in law, medicine or commerce, but their sons, to give an apt illustration, would rarely dream of farming as a career, in the old provinces at any rate. It would be regarded as a sacrifice of all educational and social advantages as well as of all financial ambition. Other circumstances had contributed to this cleavage in the old days of which we are writing. A society corresponding in degree to the English upper middle class, of mainly U.E. Loyalist origin, had gathered in and around the little towns of Upper Canada as in those of Nova Scotia. With these had naturally coalesced the officials who were sent out from England, the officers of the garrisons, and the considerable number who, attracted by special grants of Crown land, had retired from the army to take up their abode in the country.

This last element must not be overlooked among those that went to the making of British Canada after the close of the Napoleonic wars, when great reductions were made in the military establishments of Great Britain. Colonial Crown lands offered a ready and mutually beneficial form of solatium

to the retired soldier of all ranks. The officer entered with the time-honoured optimism of the British gentleman emigrant upon his thousand or two acres of bush, to come out of them in time quite cured of his backwoods fever and a poorer man, to join with the remnant of his capital and perhaps his half-pay the more congenial atmosphere of one or other of these pleasant little towns. Here among a very simple-living but generally well-bred community his family grew up, to intermarry with them, to follow commerce or the professions, and share such good things as this little aristocracy of the colony in the days of the Family Compact kept mainly to themselves. This designation, borrowed from that of a much more famous historical group, is not quite literally applicable, though anyone who knows his Canada could mention half a dozen families straight away who were prominent members of it. It applied rather to a clique or a whole social caste. Those who were not in it, the plainer democratic hard-working element, that is to say, would have described and did actually describe it as consisting of stuck-up folk who considered themselves to be of different clay from the common people whose duty it was to remain content and to clear the forests and be, in short, then hewers of wood and drawers of water. It was held against them that they regarded the country as existing for their particular benefit and the Government for their private exploitation. Thus, allowing for the hyperbole of a toiling democracy socially and politically snubbed, expresses something near the truth.

The constitution of Upper Canada, it may be repeated, was similar to that of Quebec, a 'representative,' that is to say, but not 'responsible' government. The Governor, his Executive, and his nominated Councillors, could defeat with impunity any measure of the Elective Assembly, while for a long time they had control of a sufficient part of the revenue. Here, of course, there was no racial difficulty, the population in this respect being homogeneous. Nevertheless, the very large American-born element not U.E. Loyalists were always an object of suspicion, and often unjustly

so, while the loudest notes of opposition sounded in the Assembly emanated from members of this stock or those who represented their opinions.

Immigration was all this time pouring in from Great Britain at an average rate of ten thousand souls a year. But these newcomers as a rule dispersed amid the forests and utterly ignorant of the intricacies of North American politics, were for long a negligible quantity. The labouring element of the U. E. Loyalists, though they got neither plums nor favours, stuck as a mass to the men and families whose names had been so long honoured among them, and it must be admitted that these last as representing the Family Compact earned things to a great length and behaved with most impudicous arrogance. Their hatred of republicanism stimulated the aristocratic spirit in all relations of life, while the people of their own class who came out from England naturally assisted in encouraging and strengthening the sentiment. The Lieutenant-Governors were for the most part as clay in their hands while their members filled the Council and the Executive, the judgeships and all posts of confidence or emolument. On more than one occasion they actually flouted the appointments of the Home Government. Their disposal of Crown lands, too, was open to suspicion, while the unimproved condition in which they and their friends retained forest grants, to the detriment of active settlement caused infinite discontent. It must not be thought, however, that this little aristocracy was an idle one. On the contrary its hold on higher commerce, banks and the professions, which were largely conducted by its members, using the term broadly, made it the more formidable.

These people would have defended their attitude by pointing to the swarms of Americans with republican ideas settled in the province and the necessity for having men of sound monarchical principles in all places of trust, and they saw or affected to see disloyalty in every act of opposition to themselves or their policy. Privately they cherished a rooted conviction that they had earned the right to govern

the country, as the representatives by birth or education of the Loyalist settlers who had taken the lead in founding and defending it. They held lightly the claims to equal favour of the later and miscellaneous American settlers, while the hordes of mainly labouring people pouring in from the old country counted not at all in their eyes. For a long time they controlled a majority in the Assembly, but after a time they had to face an extremely clamorous opposition, which they did with a good deal of contemptuous obstinacy and some extremely high-handed actions. Several agitators and demagogues became conspicuous opponents of these inflexible colonial Tories, but they got for the most part short shift and were either ordered out of the province or thrown into prison.

William Lyon McKenzie, who later on headed the rebellion in Upper Canada, was a Scotsman who came young to the country by way of New England, and started a newspaper hostile to Family Compact rule, only to have his printing-press smashed in pieces by young men allied to that party. For years he proved a firebrand on the popular side, being more than once elected to the Legislature and expelled by the Tories. Several men of lesser determination and ability broke their heads against the rule of the Compact, usually to be laid by the heels and to take up their permanent residence in the United States as hatchers of schemes against Canada. Travellers came out from England and reported a strange state of affairs, social and political, in both the Canadas. But in spite of all this the province in a material sense progressed well enough. This high-handed attitude was felt as a grievance mainly by the ambitious and politically inclined, whose constant reference to the United States merely stiffened the back of the Government and their friends, to whom the very name of the Republic was anathema.

Church and educational matters proved a great cause of friction throughout this whole period. The Church of England in those days aspired to a sort of quasi-establishment in all new colonies. It was naturally the official

Church, and in Upper Canada, where a majority of the governing faction were its adherents, actually about a fifth of the population were Anglicans, the rest being Presbyterians, Methodists, or Baptists, while the Lutheran Church prevailed among the not inconsiderable German population. These last, however, with the Catholic Highlanders and Irish, were outside the dispute. The Methodists and Baptists were mainly offshoots of the American branches of those sects, and so inclined to regard the claims of the Church of England with greater impatience than their Nonconformist brethren from the Mother Country who had grown up in presence of an Established Church.

Now in the Canada Act of 1791 provision had been made for the allotment of wild lands in support of a Protestant clergy. For half a century a contest raged in Upper Canada over the proper interpretation of this phrase; one party declaring that it was intended to be general and inclusive, the other that it could only mean the Established Church of England with possibly that of Scotland. The lawyers supported the latter view, as a Nonconformist Church in those days was apparently not a definite legalised body capable of holding land. The popular party contested this assumption and claimed the allocation of what were known as the 'clergy reserves' for general purposes of education. The struggle lasted so long that before this point was gained the old tradition of supremacy had greatly weakened with the development of the voluntary system which has obtained in all our self-governing colonies. But in the Family Compact days the Church of England was still and very naturally associated with government. No marriage could be legally performed by a Nonconformist minister, and as these men, of the itinerant preacher type mostly, were the only ministers of religion in the early days of the province outside the chief lake shore settlements, hundreds of marriages had been contracted without the sanction of the Church though duly performed by magistrates, captains and majors, who were regarded as having some sort of qualification. One of the first acts of the

Upper Canada Legislature was retrospectively to legalise these unions; otherwise half the country would have been illegitimate!

But the Church had a powerful advocate. Its official head was Bishop Mountain of Quebec, but a much more energetic and influential personality was that of his lieutenant, Archdeacon Strachan, afterwards Bishop of Upper Canada. This man became a leading spirit in both lay and clerical matters and a very bulwark of Toryism and Family Compact rule. Born oddly enough in a Scottish manse, he came to Canada as a young Anglican, and in due course as the successful head of a classical school patronised by the leading families of the province exercised in this way a great influence. Appointed subsequently to the Council, where sat many of his old pupils, who accepted his political guidance as they had in their youth his classical tutelage, he became a power in the land, a Tory of Tories, a Churchman of Churchmen, but a man of great force and honesty. He has been likened by one or two writers to those medieval Churchmen who swayed the secular as well as the religious power, and was altogether a picturesque personality. He fought the Nonconformists and vigorously upheld the Church of England as better qualified to serve as well as educate the people than the often ill-educated and emotional preachers who, to their credit, traversed the backwoods of Canada.

Now Canada, in both provinces outside the French seigneuries, where the holdings were in long strips after the old French measurement, fronting on a road or river with the homesteads standing almost as in a street, was surveyed into townships, and the reader must think of it as criss-crossed like a chessboard. These townships measured six miles each way or thirty-six square miles. In the old colonies like New York or Virginia, properties and counties had boundaries which straggled about as in England. But the English-speaking Canada to-day is in this respect entirely rectangular. The township is still the unit of what roughly corresponds to parochial

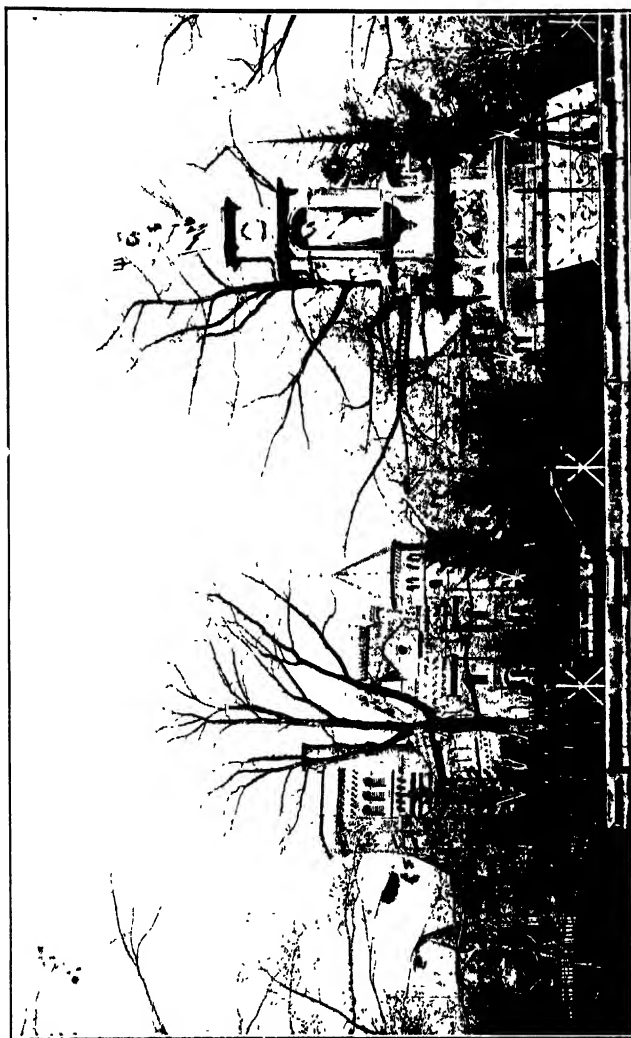
administration in this country. The farms are rectangular divisions of it and follow the old survey lines, while the whole of the great North-west is also laid out on the same principle. The 'Clergy reserves' were not in one block but a slice out of each township, amounting in all to 2,000,000 acres, and remained unappropriated to grow in value during all the early part of the dispute. In addition to these were blocks of Crown land held by individuals, officers, militiamen and others, who had not fulfilled and had no intention of fulfilling the stipulated conditions of residence or improvement.

The existence of these intervals of forest in every township among the growing settlements was a distinct hardship on the farmers. It increased their isolation from one another, threw the burden of roads and taxation on fewer people, and constituted a real and urgent grievance for which the Anglican Church and absentee landowners identified with the governing classes were held responsible. Methodist and other Nonconformist ministers traversed the rude forest tracks from settlement to settlement with great diligence, holding services in rude barns or log chapels. The Church of England might have gathered at least its fair share of rural Canada within its communion, since much of the material was quite in a condition to give ready adherence to any Protestant Church that offered them its consolations. But the itinerant Nonconformist preachers did nearly all the early missionary work of English Canada. And largely for this reason the Church of England has to this day no very great hold upon the agricultural people in any of the older provinces, but relies mainly upon the towns and higher classes. The Church Missionary Society, to be sure, extended a little help; but in those days particularly, a secure income, a rectory and a church were too much regarded as an indispensable equipment for the planting of Church doctrines, and there were neither public nor private means among the struggling settlers for such a provision. The upper ranks gathered in and about the towns had of course their churches, but they

were unfortunately more concerned about ways and means for creating an Anglican Establishment than in advancing Church principles among the great mass of the 120,000 souls who in 1825 comprised the population of Upper Canada. The Church of England, it was said by its opponents at the time, 'took no heed of the common people.' This was partially true, as these could only be reached by wandering missionaries, and in the meantime they were largely captured, if the phrase is permissible, by the other denominations. Higher education was promoted under Church auspices more or less. A university at Toronto and several grammar schools at various centres were endowed, but primary education was a long time in getting much recognition. A complete system of common schools was instituted later during the union of the two provinces, to be amplified in recent times by the addition of High Schools, where a more advanced education, also practically free, is provided.

But in spite of the political excitement that agitated Toronto or Kingston and exercised successive Committees of the English House of Commons, who never could understand the situation, the rapid subduing of the wilderness and the flow into it of a mainly British stream of immigration, mingling with the 100,000 ex-Americans already there, went on unconcerned and is the really important feature of the first half of the nineteenth century. Some of the immigrants stopped in the maritime provinces and a few in the Eastern Townships of Quebec, but the bulk came on to the finer land and the superior agricultural climate and the more materially progressive atmosphere of Upper Canada. That province, now Ontario, is geographically immense owing to the rugged northern wilderness included in its limits. But it was then, and agriculturally is still, a mere strip about fifty miles deep, running from the mouth of the Ottawa along the north shore of Lake Ontario, and then spreading out in fan shape to the region something the shape of Wales, and about twice the size, which is washed by Lakes Erie and Huron. This latter tract, known as the

Peninsula or Western Ontario, is one of the most fertile in



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Eastern North America and is now a noted agricultural country.

In the eastern corner of this province, between Kingston and Montreal, were a great many Scottish Highlanders,

refugees from the Mohawk valley in New York, who had fought through the Revolutionary war—Grants, Mcleans, Mackays, and others. A little later there came from Scotland McGillhes, Clanranald Macdonalds, Macphersons



JOHN GALT

of Badenoch and Camerons of Lochiel. The whole regiment of Glengarry Macdonells and others, in part victims of a great eviction in the Highlands and then embodied for service in the Irish rebellion of 1798, were as before related brought over *en bloc* to Canada with their families and settled in the angle of the Ottawa and the St. Lawrence. They did good service in the war of 1812, and till quite lately their

descendants habitually used the Gaelic tongue.

In 1826 Galt the celebrated Scottish novelist founded the Canada company on two million acres of fine land running east from Lake Huron. Colonel Talbot, 'Mad Dick Talbot,' before the war was a great promoter of immigration along the shores of Lake Erie on 28 townships now occupied by some quarter of a million of people. Lord Selkirk, an energetic philanthropic young nobleman fond of exploration, had taken pity on nearly a thousand Highlanders cleared

off the Sutherland estates for sheep, and brought them across the Atlantic. Though he took up some land in Ontario, he settled most of his *protégés* in Prince Edward Island, where their descendants form an appreciable portion of the prosperous community which to-day represents one of the Confederate provinces of the Dominion.

The seeds had been also sown by Germans from Pennsylvania of at least one modern county to the west of Toronto, conspicuous to-day for busy factories and advanced agriculture, and mainly occupied by their thrifty descendants. Near by is a larger district equally flourishing, whose people are in great part descended from a shipload of immigrants brought out from Annandale in Dumfriesshire. But the Lowland Scotsman did not begin to assume his present pre-eminence in numbers and influence till some time after the war of 1812. The immigrant colonist of these old days, too, differed in many respects from his modern successor. It is a common assertion that the English variety of Briton has deteriorated in this particular, and no one with sufficient knowledge of the past and experience of the present would altogether deny this. But there are two strong reasons for this apparent degeneration, indicating that a change of circumstances rather than of characteristics is the cause of it. For when Canada was in the making as regards serious immigration, between 1820 and 1860, particularly in the earlier part, the immigrant was more generally an agricultural labourer or farmer's son.¹ Of the former there was then a superabundance in England and southern Scotland. The poor-law statistics of that time were appalling in the agricultural counties and the rates crushing. The farm labourer, too, was then an all-round capable man with no urban ambitions, though generally poorly paid and badly led. The change to Canada, rough as it was, gave him nevertheless a greater abundance and proportionate content. He was not made restless by frequent longings for a less onerous employment in some other occupation. Finally, the settler

¹ Great numbers of hand-loom weavers from the Scottish Lowlands came over, but they were often country people of rural habits.

of those days could not easily escape from his new surroundings. Railroads, information, and newspapers pulling him this way and that and filling his head with alternatives did not then come his way. He worried through the early period, trying to so many, particularly to the ill-educated, who are often intimidated by novelties merely as such, simply because he had to, and generally developed into a first-rate colonist.

A certain number of Catholic Irish had always found their way into the country, but it was not till the famine of 1848-1849 that they came in any great numbers. At



IMMIGRANT OF 1816 D. 1876.

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no time was there any fraternisation between these and their French co-religionists, while they were for the most part served by a priesthood of their own community. These Irish usually settled in groups, but there was comparatively little of the sustained anti-British feeling which distinguished, and still distinguishes, the Irish Americans. For one thing the Orange

societies have always been extremely strong and active in British Canada, and even apart from that intimidating influence public opinion would never tolerate the truculent attitude towards Great Britain which in the United States has distinguished the Catholic Irish societies to the frequent inconvenience of the Americans themselves. In Canada, too, the Catholic Irish immigrants have to a far greater extent joined the ranks of the pioneers and become industrious, successful, and contented farmers. Their brethren in the United

States, on the contrary, nearly always shed their 'land hunger' on arriving, and least of all races, conspicuous in peopling North America, have assisted in conquering the waste. They have for the most part remained about the towns, and for fifty years have been identified with, and, indeed, regarded as the chief promoters of that peculiar form of corrupt 'boss' government under which all the large American cities still impotently groan and which they appear unable to shake off.

CHAPTER X

REBELLION AND UNION, 1837-1867

IN 1837 the troubles in both provinces came simultaneously, though not by concerted action, to a head. In Upper Canada, though discontent was widespread, all really violent intention was confined to comparatively few under the leadership of the hot-head McKenzie. It was, moreover, precipitated by the return of a majority for the Government in the popular House. Sir Francis Bond Head was Governor at the time, representing those 'Liberal ideas' that were the policy for the moment of the British Government and himself. But, in truth, it did not much signify to the Canadian Tories, who really governed the country, what policy Secretaries of State in London proposed to pursue. Head was a vain, obstinate, not very capable person, but he persuaded himself that it was his conciliatory policy that had secured the above-mentioned majority at the elections. Probably it had, but this very fact drove the more violent reformers to action; and though men were drilling openly, and there was every sign of a rising, the Governor was so pleased with himself and his policy, that he would heed no warnings and take no precautions. McKenzie, however, at this juncture seemed to lose such ballast as he possessed, and contrived to make the suppression of himself and a few hundred followers in an attack on Toronto in December a matter of extreme simplicity, though his discomfiture was achieved by the local militia, for Head had unwisely emptied the province of all troops and in no way deserved such good luck. McKenzie himself escaped to the United States and stultified his reputation, which had by no means

been a wholly bad one, and a cause that, though criminally advocated, had a great deal of justification, by hanging about the Niagara shore with a band of American ruffians and doing a good deal of damage to property. He was ultimately imprisoned for a season by the U.S. authorities. Most of the reforms, which may be summed up in the words Responsible Government, advocated by McKenzie and his friends were reasonable enough, and in due course were actually adopted, while the revolt, directed against the current methods of government and the people in power rather than against the Crown, though contemptible as a military movement, remains a notable landmark in Canadian history. For, synchronising with the more formidable attempt in the lower province, it helped to close the first experiment in administering Anglo-French Canada.

In the lower province things were much more serious. Lord Gosford, a weak, amiable man, was Governor, though fortunately Sir John Colborne, who had preceded Head in Upper Canada, was in command of the troops. Papineau was the life and soul of the French movement. In regard to his disloyal intentions there was no disguise. Large bodies of men were drilling openly, while intimidation was used towards those neutral or hostile to the movement of the kind familiar in Ireland to-day. But Papineau was very different from McKenzie. His family had risen to the position of seigneurs, and he himself had a most attractive personality. Though frankly a demagogue, he was a man of culture and a fervid orator who wielded considerable influence, particularly on the younger generation; and if, as politicians, the French were as yet wanting in ballast, the Catholic colleges at Montreal and Quebec gave an admirable education to an increasing number of their youth. For five years past supplies had been refused by the Assembly, and for the whole time the Executive provided for their own needs from the military chest. The *impasse* was becoming intolerable, and Lord John Russell submitted to the House of Commons resolutions empowering the Lower Canadian Executive to expend the revenue without reference

to the Assembly. This appeared to be the complete and final answer to ninety-two resolutions for increasing the popular power passed by Papineau and his friends.

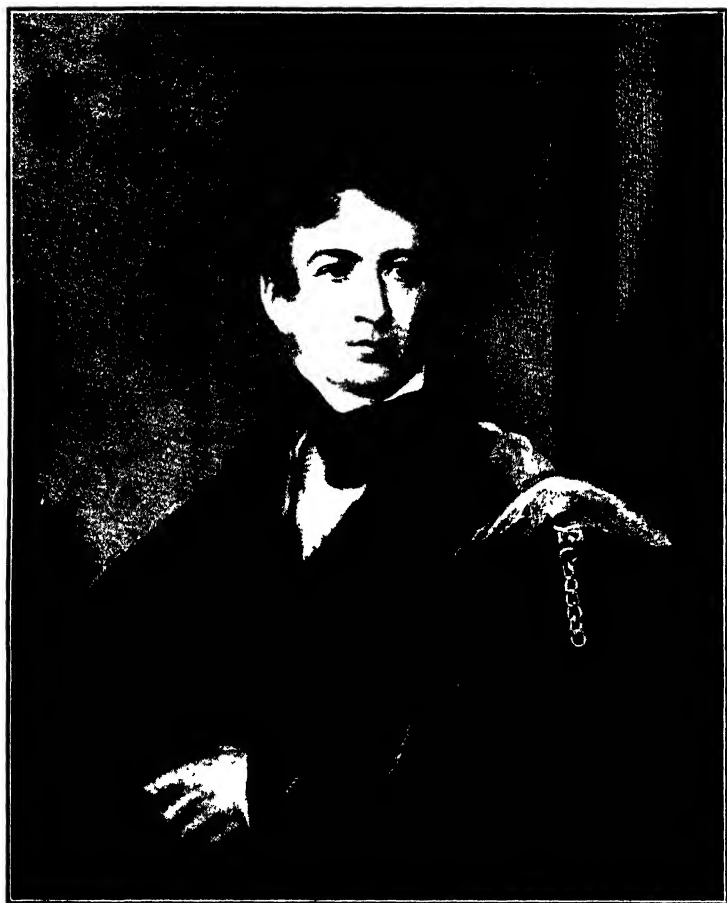
There was no measure now to the language of sedition. A frankly truculent anti-British Irishman, Dr. O'Callaghan, with Dr. Nelson, a Scotch member of the House, were foremost allies of Papineau. Riots occurred and a newspaper office was wrecked. Lord Gosford prepared to proclaim martial law, and in November of the memorable year for Canada of 1837 warrants for Papineau and twenty-five of his friends were issued. Some were arrested, an action which directly precipitated this other abortive rebellion, a good deal more troublesome and sanguinary than the feeble, ill-managed attempt of McKenzie in Upper Canada. The chief scene of action was the Richelieu valley, and the first movement of the troops on the rebels, led by Dr. Nelson, was repulsed. But Papineau escaped, without participating in the fray, to the United States, thereby indelibly tarnishing his otherwise good name in the eyes of his contemporaries and of posterity. A little later the rebels were crushed, with a total loss of several hundred, and a second force near Montreal, under Dr. Chenier, was also scattered with rather more than necessary bloodshed and destruction of property. Nearly two hundred persons in all were detained as prisoners, and the physical part of the incident was ended. The political question, however, was much more serious. As a preliminary the British Government suspended the Constitution for three years and sent out Lord Durham as Governor-General with extraordinary powers.

Durham was a combination of advanced Liberal and aristocratic Whig, and came to Canada strongly disposed towards the French, whose attitude he and his political friends at home made the common mistake of identifying with Liberalism as understood at Westminster. He found to his surprise that save for a handful of ambitious politicians the French population, now increased to over half a million, was invincibly conservative in method and habit, while

the 150,000 British and others in the lower province represented in everything but name the party of progress chafing under the incubus of French stagnation. It is well, however, to remember the utterly different standpoint from which French and British regarded their joint country. To the former it was their ancient home; they did not want expansion nor immigration. Those triumphs of material development, that increase of wealth and population, that taming of the wilderness which filled the eye and nerved the arm of the colonist of British race then only less than now, had no meaning for the average French Canadian. The adventurous few loved the wilderness for its freedom, not as a future wheatfield. The contented many remained within the seigneuries, subdividing and cultivating the land of their fathers even to exhaustion, happy and unambitious, like an old population in an old country and with similar local affections. The priests, who under the strict injunctions of their bishop had behaved well in the late disturbances, did everything, for much the same reasons as the Irish or French-Canadian priests of to-day, to encourage these stay-at-home proclivities among their flocks.

Lord Durham came out with special powers which he actually exceeded in practice. He wisely released all the prisoners taken in the rebellion save eight, whom with questionable authority he banished, without trial, to Bermuda. He hated oppression, had a 'genius for truth' without respect of persons or occasions, but was a benevolent despot rather than a popular leader. Combined with this he possessed an excessive love of pomp and display. A large staff accompanied him to Canada. His methods of progress through Quebec and Montreal in a general's uniform, and mounted on a white charger followed by a gorgeous cavalcade, provided great entertainment for the people, while the hospitalities of his lady at the Castle of St. Louis were on an unprecedented scale. He held aloof from all parties, hoping thereby to form a more unbiassed opinion of the state of the country. He was a man of acute perception, and his masterly report on the Canadas, written in

conjunction with his able secretary Buller, remains the lasting monument of an administration which, though brief enough



EARL OF DURHAM, GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF CANADA
JAN. 19, 1838 — JULY 19, 1838

in tenure, was sufficiently fruitful of consequences. He had come out, he said, to find a people at violent odds with the Government, instead of which he found 'two nations warring within a single state.' He found social intercourse, which had once been considerable in the higher ranks, quite non-existent. The two races frequented different hotels, ran passenger

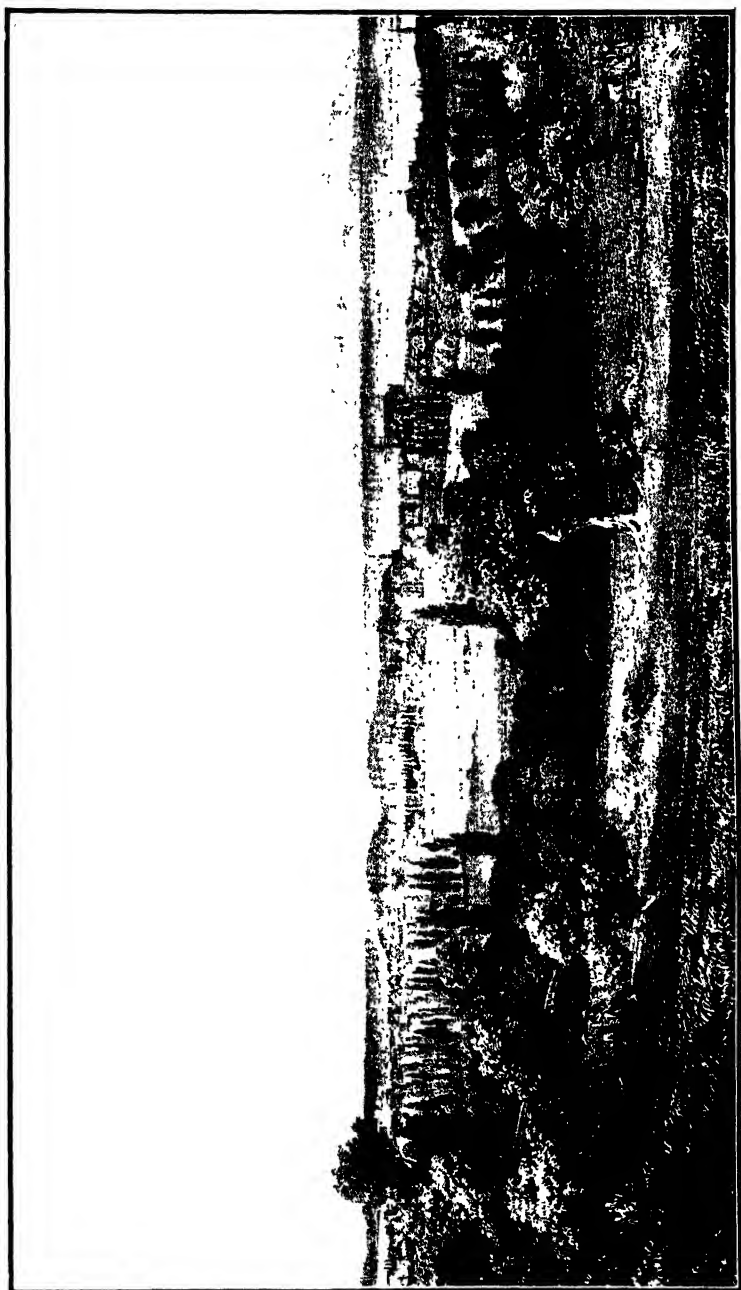
steamers against one another, competed for different prizes at the agricultural shows, and even had their ploughing matches in different fields. Not supported by the Home Government to the extent he had reason to expect, subjected to much unfair criticism at home and much out of health, Durham resigned in indignation and died not long after his return to England. The result of his brief sojourn in Canada was the union of the two provinces in a single government, a procedure which would about equalise the races, who then, it was hoped, would divide into parties on some other and more wholesome basis than racial hatred. Durham, like Dorchester half a century earlier, favoured a federation of all the provinces. But the distance between them in those days of slow communications, as well as the local prejudices arising from this very isolation, forbade the attempt. This, moreover, would still have left the French supreme in Lower Canada. So the next best thing, as it seemed, and no doubt with some idea of paving the way towards a complete system, was achieved in the union of Upper and Lower Canada. For the moment the two races by this arrangement would be fairly balanced, but immigration in course of time would no doubt ensure a British majority. The British of the lower province were, of course, delighted, while the Upper Canadians, though greatly split up, were not ill disposed to the change. The Act was passed in 1840, previously to which Mr. Poulett Thompson, afterwards created Lord Sydenham, had been appointed Governor General to carry it into effect.

The clemency of the Government towards the late rebels in Lower Canada was ill requited by another attempt led by Robert Nelson, brother of Papineau's more robust partner in the last rising. Bands of marauders harried the frontier, but Colborne, then acting Governor General, soon suppressed them, and this time twelve of the leaders were deservedly executed. It almost seemed now as if England was making a second great failure as a colonial power. Some later writers on the period ask why she had not learned from the revolt of the old colonies to 'trust the people' and concede

responsible government all round. This sounds plausible, and is to-day a handy platitude. As a matter of fact, it was this very lesson of the old colonies that made those qualified by an intimate knowledge of North American affairs and of colonial people to judge, so distrustful of such a policy. It was this very *laissez-faire*, this abandonment of the Americans to their own affairs outside the regulation of external trade that largely accounted for the breakdown the moment a strain was put on the imperial spirit. It will be remembered how in 1765, when united action between the Mother Country and the Colonies became admittedly imperative for both parties, the latter made it impossible by their selfish individualism and ostrich-like apathy, thereby forcing a thoroughly well and even generously disposed British Government into those historically disastrous measures. The English and French in Canada were now bitterly hostile to one another. If annexationist feeling was very slight in Lower Canada, it was simply owing to the fact that the passion of the moment was hatred of all interference from English-speaking Protestants. Upper Canada was very uneasy under Family Compact rule, and a union with the Republic, among the mass of the people between the governing classes and the later immigrants, had become dangerously popular. English Radicals at home openly supported this sentiment, and it is not surprising that neither to Durham nor to any other impartial onlooker did the material for sane popular government seem promising in either province.

The coalition of English and French Canada under one government, however, relieved the situation and restored that outside confidence in the country which, for the moment, had been utterly shattered; but most questions and most divisions in the Assembly still resolved themselves into matters of race.¹ Montreal, now increased to 50,000 souls, twice as large, that is to say, as either Quebec or Toronto and on the

¹ The representation was fixed as forty-two from each province for the Lower House, and twenty for the Council. The first Parliament met at Kingston.

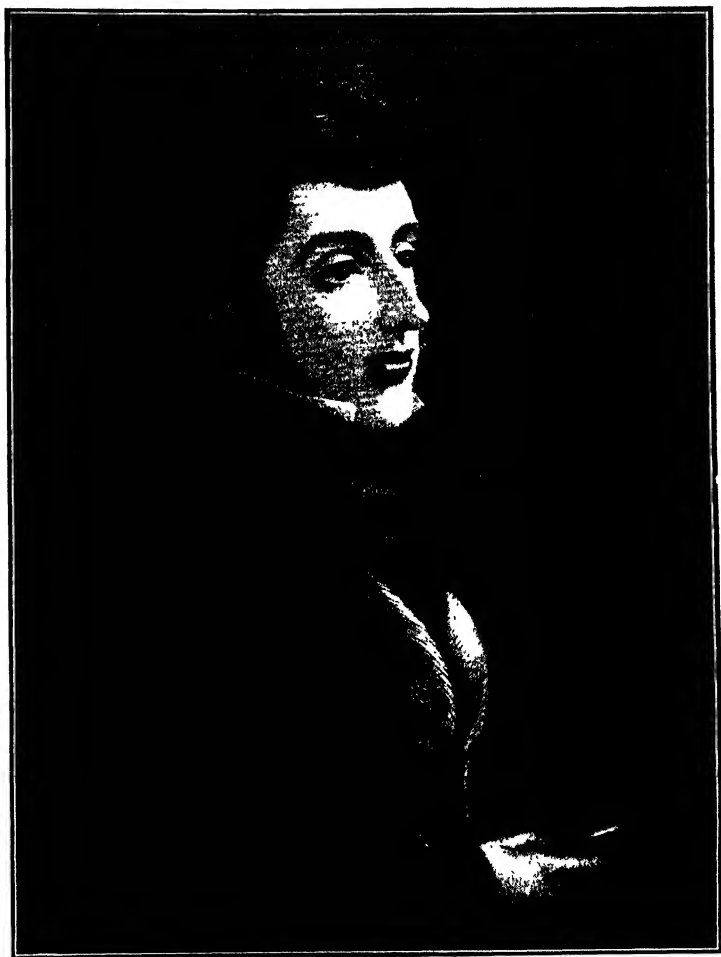


border of the two provinces, became the centre of legislation, and, with a British control in trade and a French numerical superiority, a very factious centre too. Sydenham appointed his first ministry from the two British parties, omitting the French for the present, a proceeding not calculated to attach them to a union which they hated. But the Governor, an able and energetic man of liberal views, knew well what he was about. He had a majority in the House, introduced some desirable measures of municipal and local government into the country, and pushed forward that construction of canals so vital to internal trade, while at the same time a sound system of education was introduced into Upper Canada. For at this time there were only 24,000 children at school out of a population of 400,000. Immigration from Great Britain too, which, owing to the late troubles, had dropped to zero, now leaped forward again to such purpose that in 1842 over 40,000 entries were registered.

Lord Sydenham died all too soon in the first year of the Union. Sir Charles Bagot succeeded him, whose brief tenure of office is remarkable for the first beginnings of responsible government. A coalition between the French and British reformers produced a majority which Bagot recognised by appointing some of that party, including a French Canadian, to the Executive Council. Gradually this innovation grew into a custom and the Council imperceptibly acquired the designation of the 'Ministry' or the 'Cabinet.' Bagot broke down in health within the year, and soon afterwards died.

Sir Charles Metcalfe followed at a difficult transition period, when responsible government was half won, not always wisely used, and the Governor by no means yet reduced to the figure-head of later days. Passions and hatred still ran high. Tories accused reformers of republicanism, and reformers, resenting the imputation, accused their rivals of all the political vices associated with the term 'reactionary.' French Catholics sent so-called Radicals to Montreal who hated their allies—their very antithesis, in fact—

the Methodist British reformer, only less than the supercilious Anglican Tory. It was a cat and-dog Assembly for most of



LORD SYDNEY HAM,

SERIAL OF

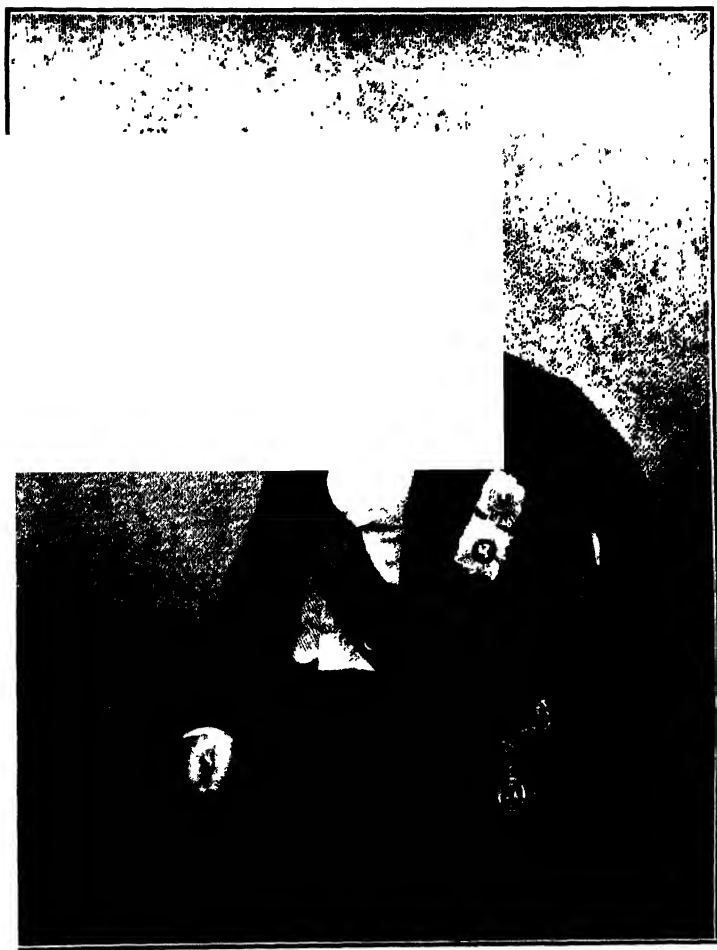
the twenty-seven years of its existence. And while in days of world-wide upheaval, when Canada lay in daily fear of invasion, she had been left in charge of about 4000 troops, nearly thrice that number were now habitually quartered in the country.

In 1847¹ Lord Elgin, a very able and high-principled young man, under forty, came out to face a stormy period. Compensation for destruction of the property of French Canadians in the late rebellion was at the moment provoking an acute race controversy. The French with their allies ultimately passed the measure and Elgin signed it, a proceeding followed by serious riots. The Governor was attacked by a mob, the Parliament House subsequently over-run and burnt to the ground with its library and its whole collection of public records, while the language of faction was even more heated than its methods. Lord Elgin was to be impeached. Insult was heaped upon him, while the houses and persons of ministers were attacked, and a British North American League was founded 'to drive the French into the sea.' Montreal was abandoned as too factious an atmosphere for a capital, and Toronto and Quebec now shared that political distinction alternately till the inconvenience of such a method caused the selection of a common centre. Partly from the fact of its remoteness from the American frontier, the otherwise central but obscure little town of Bytown was selected and blossomed out into the present capital of Ottawa. It has been impossible within our space, save briefly as regards the Canadas, to follow the struggle for responsible government in the several provinces. But, as easy of remembrance and sufficiently accurate, the year 1850 may be mentally pigeon-holed as witnessing in all five of them the achievement of this end.

The revenue from the small customs duties levied at Quebec had been proportionately divided between the two provinces. Canadian products entering British ports almost free, as compared with the duties levied on foreign goods, had been of immense service to Canada, and she was building up a great corn and milling trade when the abolition of the Corn Laws in England paralysed her industries, just as Free Trade had completed the ruin of the West Indies.

¹ In 1847 the Grand Trunk railroad was begun, and telegraph communication opened between Quebec, Montreal, and Toronto.

The rich and powerful United States was now on even terms with the poor Canadians in the British markets. Land



EARL OF ELGIN, GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF CANADA, 1847-1854

became unsaleable, waterways were unused, and annexation was again freely spoken of. The financial credit of the country was for the time destroyed, and even the public officers had to take their salaries in debentures which were discounted at a loss. The old idea had been that a nation

and her colonies were to be of mutual benefit to one another and add thereby the tie of commercial interests to those of sentiment. The Canadian duties upon British goods



were now raised and American imports reduced to the same level.

We cannot trace here the gradual commercial revival, nor yet the intricacies of parties and domestic politics throughout the unsatisfactory period of Union which Federation ter-

minated in 1867. Though Anglo-French relations improved somewhat, there were so many conflicting interests that it was found impossible to maintain two parties sufficiently united for the proper working of party government'. But if the Union Parliament did nothing else it proved the political training-ground of a considerable number of extremely able men both French and English, some of whom, like Robert Baldwin and La Fontaine, won honourable memory even under these unsatisfactory conditions; while others, like Sir John Macdonald, George Brown, and Sir Etienne Cartier, lived to serve their country upon the higher stage of Federation.

But apart from mere politics and the immense increase of population, many stirring events affecting Canada occurred during this quarter of a century. The Crimean War, though remote enough in act, greatly raised the price of those foodstuffs in which Canada dealt so largely, while the American Civil War, raging for four years just across her borders, rumbled loudly in her ears and at one moment threatened to involve her in the cataclysm, not through any action of her own but merely as a member of the British Empire. Both sides in the great struggle had a grudge against England. The South, her old enemy, who got the bulk of our rather ill-balanced, ill-informed and not very creditable sympathy, was sore because this was not backed up by something stronger, while the North with more reason resented our attitude as well as a certain laxity in the fitting out of privateers such as the famous *Alabama* in the Southern interest. In 1861 two envoys from the Southern confederacy, Messrs. Mason and Slidell, were taken by force in mid-ocean off a British ship. Great Britain demanded reparation and dispatched the Guards to Canada. War seemed imminent, and there was intense excitement. A bill for the embodying of 50,000 militia was introduced into the Canadian Parliament, but defeated by the French element, with what reason or logic at such a moment

¹ The first ocean steamer arrived at Quebec in 1853, and the ocean cable was laid to Nova Scotia in 1858.

matters nothing now, since the United States Government conceded satisfaction and the incident passed.

The discovery of gold in California had indirectly brought about the founding of British Columbia in 1849-1850. The Grand Trunk railroad had been constructed from Quebec into Western Canada, and, though unprofitable to its shareholders, greatly facilitated internal trade, for at the close of this epoch there were altogether nearly three thousand miles of railroad in the country. The vexed question of the clergy reserves, too, was at length settled. A long-standing proposition to divide them between the Anglican, Scottish and Nonconformist Churches in fair proportion was rejected, and save for a few Anglican rectories in actual use neither religion nor education got anything, and the prize was divided among corporations for purely secular purposes. An interesting change, too, was made in 1857 by the abolition of seigniorial tenure, as cumbersome rather than oppressive, and the conversion of the occupants or *censitaires* into freeholders. The seigneurs, many of whom through purchase or otherwise were now of British race, received adequate compensation. The population of Upper Canada had long out-distanced that of Quebec by nearly half a million, and a further cause of friction and discontent with the existing arrangements was its under-representation in the Legislature, while the French naturally resented any change. Everything, however, was moving towards one end, and it was at last recognised that Federation was the only cure for a situation which had become practically insupportable.

As illustrating the tendency of the historian to accentuate unduly the merely political side of life in a country, particularly a new country, it may be said at once that this politically factious period of Union was in a practical sense the golden age of nineteenth-century Canada. 'Politicians might wrangle; Governors might beat their breasts or write home despairing dispatches; mobs might riot in Montreal, which contained but a fiftieth of the population; trade in lumber, furs, or even grain might stagnate; but agriculture, in such a country, where, as in the North-west to-day,

thousands of acres of fresh virgin land were coming annually into cultivation, moved on at a sure and steady pace, regardless of good prices or bad, of peace or war in the outer world, of commercial troubles or political squabbles at home. The settler on his hundred or two hundred acres of cleared land, himself and family thrifty and laborious, grew his wheat and oats, his hay or barley, whether markets were good or bad. His property shared in the general appreciation,

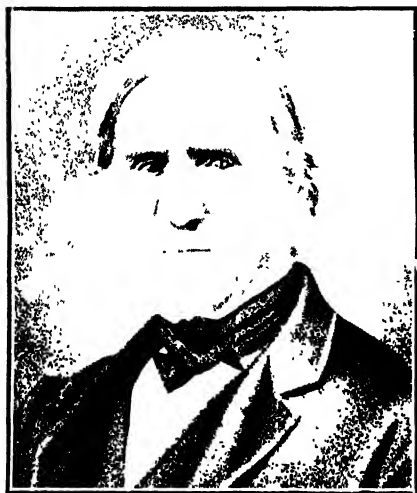


A COUNTRY SCENE IN NEW BRUNSWICK

pushed always upward by the steady and strong-flowing current of immigration from Great Britain into the still wild woods behind or around him.

In 1841 there were about a million people in the Canadas, in 1867 there were thrice that number. At the first-named date the British townships in Quebec and the province of Upper Canada, within its agricultural limits, were still but very partially cleared of forest and occupied. By 1870, to be quite safe, these great regions were practically as fully opened out as they are to-day. In other words, the work was done, and the result was a continuous stretch of farms, fields, and homesteads, of little towns and villages, as in an old country.

Some inferior fringes of the comparatively sterile wilderness to the north, with a few of the remoter fertile counties, were still in the making. But speaking broadly the great province of Ontario, which Upper Canada now became—that country which stood for Canada in the minds of most emigrating Britons between 1815 and 1880—was in an agricultural sense completed just about the time of Federation. It took its stand beside New York or Pennsylvania as an old country.



SCOTCH-IRISH SETTLER BORN 1788

Farms, as there or as in England, with every necessary building and equipment, were now merely worth what a man could make out of them; 'unearned increment' had ceased.

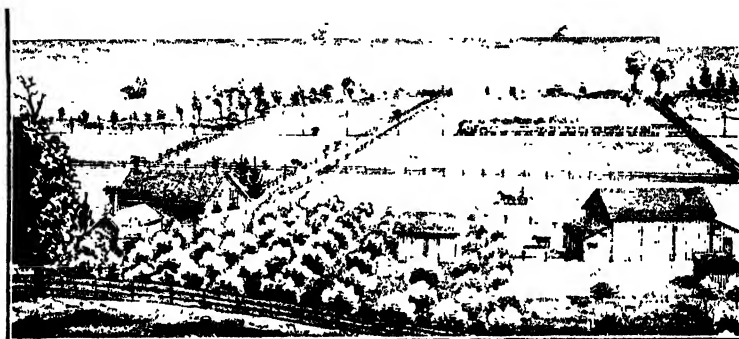
The history of rural Canada, including the maritime provinces, is a simple one. First came the pioneer, generally with little or no capital but his uncleared land, his labour, his axe, a few rude implements and a

yoke of oxen, his house and barns built of roughly squared logs raised with the help of willing neighbours. Then in due course the son takes his place with the farm all cleared but the reserved timber and fenced into fields, the stumps rotted, the buildings improved and added to with sawn lumber. One more generation, and a roomy brick or stone house has probably replaced the former one; the orchards have grown to maturity, and ornamental trees upon the grass plot give a homelike look to the place. But a certain thriftiness and plain severity of life still survives within from the old backwoods days maintained by habit and tradition and the

necessity for constant manual labour to an extent that a stranger on the railroad or highway would hardly suspect. This third generation at the latest represented the comfortably settled Canadian farmer with his little landed property and effects worth two or three thousand pounds, in addition very often to invested savings amounting to as much again. This represented the limit of his expansion. There was no more unearned increment, no more rise in the value of his land as such, which would merely fluctuate up and down as in old countries. The genuine profits of ordinary agriculture on a limited scale have never been very great. But a nation of yeomanry, comfortably situated, whose second nature is to work hard, and who make a living, with at periods something more, on a modest scale, represents, perhaps, as good an economic condition as any settled country could wish for. This was the state of most of English Canada about the time of Federation. There was not much more forest land then worth the labour of clearing, though backwoods life on the outer fringes was pursued by many without nice economic calculations for lack of alternative. The virgin lands of Upper Canada, particularly of the Western Peninsula, had produced from the first magnificent crops of wheat, which at intervals fetched high prices. The farmers had grown to comfort and prosperity mainly on wheat, till as a class they were well established and the time came when their lands required to be scientifically cultivated like those of an old country.

And then the sons of the farmers began to move away. The one to two hundred acre farm admitted of no subdivision under the British conception of a livelihood, and there was only room for one in the homestead. Those of farming inclinations went to the Western American States, for there was as yet no Canadian West. But with increased facilities for education on the one hand, and on the other with the limitations on income and career imposed by a small mixed farm and its heavy unremitting labour, the ambitious among the country youth of Canada turned largely from the

plough as they turn still. They began to swarm into the trades and professions, which last, together with banking and all higher commerce, had hitherto been mainly in the hands of the class represented by the Family Compact. Manufactures now began to take root in a country so splendidly provided with water power, and the large families of the Canadian farmhouses sent thousands of recruits to prosper in the little rising towns and larger cities. In the decade or two before Federation the country assumed a more democratic complexion. With the fall of political exclusiveness, the

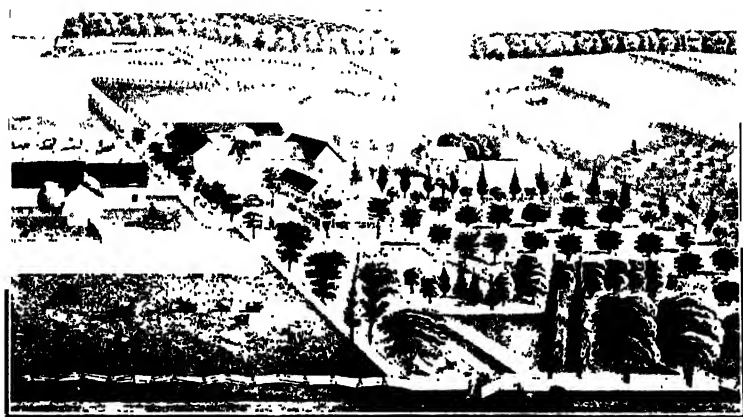


TYPICAL LAKE SHORE FARM, 1870

vast increase of population, and the gradual squeezing out of the old governing families by successful newcomers, social exclusiveness also gave rapid way. The 'English' way of looking at things had been also largely fostered by the numerous garrisons stationed throughout the country, whose officers married freely into the Anglo-Canadian upper class, and these garrisons were withdrawn after Federation. A reciprocity treaty had been made with the United States in 1850, and disputes as to American rights of fishing around the shores of the maritime provinces had been partly settled by concessions and a treaty. The sore feeling of the recently victorious North, however, against Britain, had found expression in the termination of the treaty in 1866, while bands of Fenians, who had served in the American

Civil War, made attacks upon Upper Canada, the defeat of which cost the lives of many Canadian volunteers. Furthermore, the United States Government at this moment of international asperity were extremely remiss in their lenient attitude towards these filibusters, who had no shadow of excuse.

As early as 1842 some outstanding uncertainties as to the international boundary-line had been settled in a manner that Canadians rightly or wrongly regarded as contrary both



TYPICAL ONTARIO FARM, ABOUT 1870

to common-sense and to their own interests. These disputes concerned the extreme east and the extreme west. As regards the first, the State of Maine appears upon the modern map thrusting a wedge northward into the territory of New Brunswick and Quebec, and crossing the line of rail-road communication between Montreal and the maritime provinces. This arrangement, for which Mr. Baring, afterwards Lord Ashburton, was responsible, is known as the Ashburton Treaty. Four years later the present boundary between Oregon and British Columbia was settled, by which the whole of the former territory was conceded, as Canadians thought, in somewhat light and ill-considered fashion to the Americans. But this view is open to question.

Federation, which was to prove the cure for all British North American ills, was by no means a mere question for the British Crown and Parliament. It could only be achieved by the free consent of the various provinces, with all their conflicting prejudices of race, religion, and locality. Now the Nova Scotians and New Brunswickers, the 'blue noses,' as the time-honoured vernacular of Canada has it, knew nothing whatever of their kinsmen in the Canadas, the 'Canucks,' while the French and English of the latter provinces were heartily tired of an intimacy which had bred little but quarrels, though it should not be forgotten that it brought about the recognition of responsible government. There were three parties, too—the English Liberals, the English Conservatives, and the French—now carrying on a triangular contest in the Union Parliament, the cleavages of which do not matter here, but had to be considered in so important a departure. Fortunately the French were at that time led by an enlightened and liberal-minded statesman, Sir George Etienne Cartier—the British Conservatives by the ever-famous Sir John Macdonald, and the Liberals by George Brown. The two former were in thorough political accord and ardent Federationists; the latter was, in due course, converted. So the good will of the Canadas at any rate was assured, as each leader carried his following with him.

Prior to this, in 1864, a tentative meeting of delegates from Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island had already on their own initiative discussed a union of the maritime provinces, and while actually engaged in their deliberations and incidentally in discovering how many difficulties confronted them, they were surprised by the advances of Canada with more definite proposals for a general Federation. A conference upon these lines then took place at Quebec, with the further addition of representatives from Newfoundland, and here was formulated the general scheme which in 1867 was completed in London and received the royal assent as 'The British North America Act.' But in the three years' interval there was

much discussion and in the maritime provinces great opposition. Canada had made up its mind. It was



SIR JOHN MACDONALD

indeed the active promoter of a scheme which seemed the only solution of the vexed problem of its future, the only way out of a deadlock. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick had no such incentives. They had both of them won their

struggle for responsible government by constitutional agitation and were quite satisfied with themselves, while the Parliament of Nova Scotia dated from 1748, long prior to that U.E. Loyalist influx which gave it vitality. Upon the whole, it is surprising that Sir John Macdonald and his Canadian friends talked the seaboard provinces over, though all the pressure that the Home Government could legitimately use was brought to bear. They all came in, however, by degrees, except Newfoundland, which lost its chance and has remained, to its great misfortune as many think, outside the Federation to this day. It was in truth a difficult and complex negotiation, this reconciling of conflicting interests, without detriment to provincial susceptibilities.

As regards the maritime provinces, a great deal of opposition was simply overborne by the persuasive tongues of local politicians favourable to the scheme, while the astuteness of Sir John Macdonald did the diplomatic part. Certain inducements in the way of railroad-making were offered to the maritime provinces, while a vague dread of the United States helped, perhaps, to turn them towards Federation. Upper Canada at this time had over a million and a half of population, Quebec well over a million, Nova Scotia three hundred and fifty thousand, and New Brunswick a little less. Representation in the Federal House of Commons was to be proportionate to the population of each province, save in the case of Quebec, whose fixed quota of sixty-five members was to be the standard of comparison. In the Upper House were to be seventy-two senators nominated for life by the Crown, acting, of course, through the advice of the Federal ministry. Of these twenty-four were allotted to Upper Canada (henceforth Ontario) and Quebec respectively, and to the two chief maritime provinces collectively, while little Prince Edward Island, which, with its 60,000 inhabitants, did not come in immediately, was provided for later in due proportion. Provision was also made for the future admission of British Columbia, already a province, as well as the North-west, then vaguely dawning on men's minds and

in the act of detachment from the rule of the Hudson's Bay Company.

There is not space here to set forth the new constitution.



JUSTICE HALIBURTON

But roughly speaking, the United States was taken at once as a model and a warning. In that Federation everything not specially delegated to the Central Government remains under the jurisdiction of the several States; for the

American constitution was a compromise owing to the ancient individualism of the old colonies. Alexander Hamilton and his friends would have made the Central Government far stronger; the Jeffersonian party, on the other hand, grudged it almost every concession of power from the States. The inconvenience of this is constantly felt, as in the suppression of great riots, where troops are promptly needed, in the arrest of criminals, and the diversity of State laws generally; while a single Commonwealth—such as California, for instance—as we have recently seen, can involve the nation in the gravest international situations by its attitude towards Oriental races. The Canadian Federation reversed this order of things, and every power not specially delegated to the provincial governments, which retained each their autonomy and separate legislature under a Lieutenant-Governor always a Canadian—lay with the Federal authorities. Ontario revived its old government, but this time in the form of a single elective chamber; while the other provinces retained the two-chamber system.

An attempted secession of Nova Scotia, immediately after its formal inclusion in the Confederacy, is a curious incident, and provides an opportunity for saying a few words about that great province, whose peaceful career through the century of its existence, prior to the Act of Confederation, has tempted us almost to ignore it under the pressure of the more stirring events that followed each other on the less tranquil soil of the Canadas. From the second and real founding of Nova Scotia by the United Empire Loyalists there is indeed very little to engage the interest of the general reader. All that has been said as to the agricultural development of Ontario may be applied to Nova Scotia with reservations that do not seriously affect the comparison. The U.E. Loyalists of both maritime provinces and their descendants formed, however, a far larger proportion of the population than was the case in Canada. There was no great immigration there from the United States after the first planting of the exiles; and

while at least thrice as many Loyalist refugees settled here (in 1782-1784) as in Canada, the combined population of both provinces in 1867 was not half that of Ontario, and barely



double the natural increase from the United Empire Loyalist settlers alone. Probably, therefore, nearly every other individual in the two provinces to-day is descended from those unfortunate but brave people, who, for their loyalty to the Mother Country, were driven out in shiploads to begin

life again in the Nova Scotian wilderness—a fact of which the community is duly and properly proud.

This element being so strong and yet more so conspicuous, I need not trouble the reader with the origin of the remainder. Scottish Highlanders in quite early times, as already told, were brought over in large groups, while a fraction of that great and steady stream of emigration which flowed from Great Britain after the war of 1812, found a lodgment in the maritime provinces. Lumbering, sea-borne commerce, and shipbuilding, again were relatively more important as regards agriculture than in Canada, nor was the land so generally good as in Ontario. But the clearing of the forests, the settlement of the country, the quality and scale and methods of the farmers were practically identical. In social and political life an oligarchy, represented by a group of families, extended to a caste as in Canada, acquired much the same monopoly of power and influence. There was not the same excuse for this close corporation as in Canada, filling up as it was in those days with a possibly disloyal American population. But the ‘oligarchy’—the ‘council of twelve,’ with their supporters in the Lower House, their friends and relations—maintained an aristocratic atmosphere which the military and naval garrison at Halifax and the easier intercourse with England greatly favoured. Though democracy came into her inevitable heritage in Nova Scotia, as elsewhere, long ago, the higher classes in Halifax to-day, though mostly descendants of eighteenth-century Americans, are more ‘English’ in habit, manner, and speech than any old community in British North America. This does not of course apply to the plainer people or the country folk who, as elsewhere, lean to the general Canadian type. The Bluenose, though less advanced as an agriculturist, and more behind the times generally than the Canuck, is more often equally at home on land or water.

The man who combated oligarchical rule in Nova Scotia was Joseph Howe, already mentioned, a very different sort of person from the feather-headed exponents of popular

government—Papineau and McKenzie—in the two Canadas. Howe was the son of a Loyalist refugee from New England,



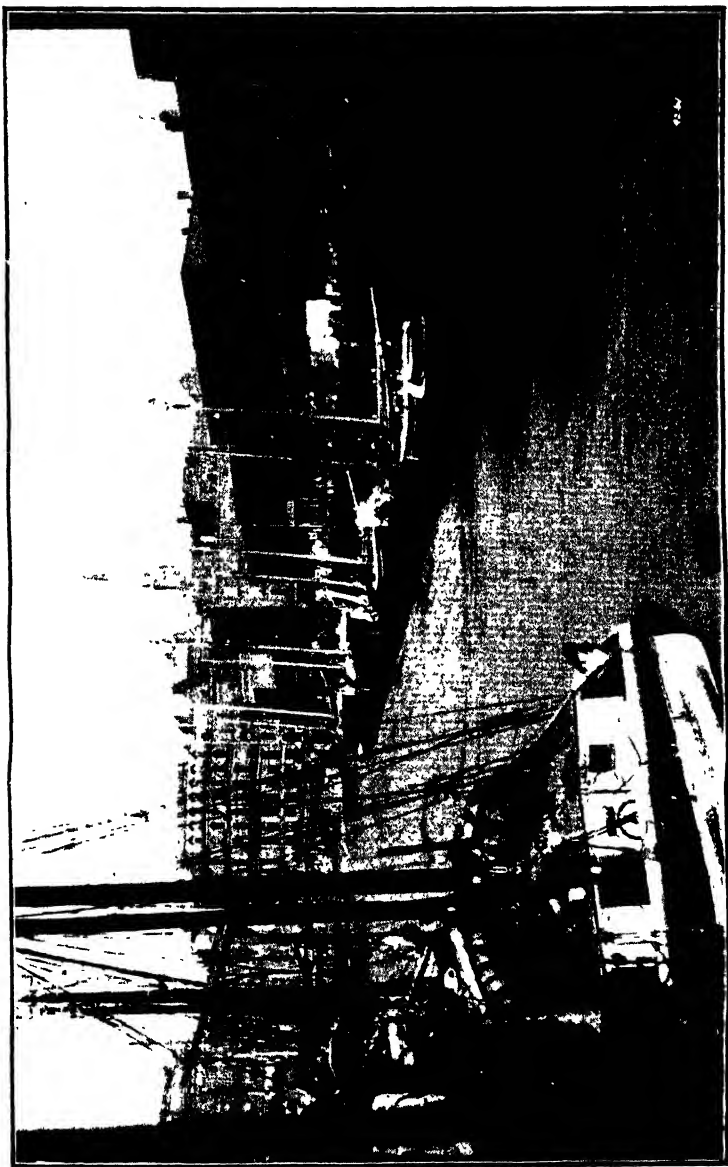
who became the King's printer and postmaster of the province. He conducted newspapers, and led the party of reform in the Assembly for years with skill and vigour,

though always a staunch and outspoken Loyalist, till under the wise governorship of Sir John Harvey, the hero in youth of the defeat of the Americans at Stoney Point, the iron Toryism of the Nova Scotian oligarchy was broken down, and the battle of responsible government finally won in 1846. The same trouble over the claims of the Church of England to full or quasi-recognition as had agitated Upper Canada caused many years of similar irritation in the maritime provinces. Otherwise, there is little more in their political life demanding notice in this book. Colleges and grammar-schools had been founded; while common schools were established, as in Ontario, by the exertions of Howe and the Liberal party about the middle of the century.¹

The industrial atmosphere of the maritime provinces is always held to have been less strenuous than that of Upper Canada, while in mental activity the Nova Scotian considers that he has at least made up the difference. Certain it is that, for their population, they have produced a greater proportion of distinguished men than the other provinces—a circumstance that believers in heredity will perhaps see good reason for. Nova Scotia, under Howe's influence, repented so rapidly of having followed her other leaders—notably Sir Charles Tupper—into Federation that, on a fresh election, conducted under the cry of repeal, that gentleman was positively the only member of his party returned to the Lower House, an incident probably unique in British political history. The pressure of the British Government, however, and the leaders of the other colonies at length persuaded Howe to reconsider so unfortunate a movement, and he was able to re-convert sufficient of his own followers to avert what would have been a real disaster. But, on the whole, Nova Scotia went with a reluctance into the Dominion Confederacy that took a long time to wear off. Prince Edward Island and British Columbia were admitted in 1873 and 1871 respectively. The former was reconciled to the procedure by the purchase of the rights

¹ The Bishopric of Halifax (1787) was the first created in British North America.

of the old landed absentee proprietors, to whom the island



had originally been granted, and whose claims had formed

the chief political topic and grievance of its little community, then numbering about 60,000 souls.

With Federation another change of some importance came about. This was a reduction of the intimacy between the Colonial Office and the various colonial governments, which had been very close and by no means always to the well-being of the latter. In the first place a large number of men of doubtful competency had been regularly dispatched to those offices in the colonies which tradition reserved for Englishmen; and secondly, colonial politicians, opposed to measures of consequence that were impending, were in the habit of crossing the Atlantic and laying their objections and complaints before Ministers who had often no opportunity of hearing the other side of the question from equally intimate sources.

Newfoundland, which rejected Federation, was discovered, as the reader will remember, by the Cabots in 1497, and up till quite recent years its people have been so absorbed in the fishing industry, to the exclusion of all other enterprise, that the general history of the island does not possess that measure of interest which distinguishes the other provinces. Throughout the sixteenth century, as related in a former chapter, the coasts were frequented by the fishermen of all the seafaring nations. In 1578, four hundred vessels were regularly employed, of which about fifty only were British. A few years later came Sir Humphrey Gilbert's attempt to establish a permanent colony, which was frustrated by his death at sea. Another patent was granted for a plantation by James I; but the quarrels among the fishermen of the various nations, who merely used the coast as a fish-curing ground, were so serious that Richard Whitbourne was dispatched from England to settle them, demonstrating at the same time the authority of the English Crown over the island. About the middle of the seventeenth century, books setting forth the advantages of the country for a plantation were by royal order circulated throughout England. But it is not difficult to understand why the intending immigrant, with practically the whole mainland of North America as a field for selection,

should have rejected this foggy northern island: above all, in the face of the discouragement *deliberately practised by the* powerful fishing interest in England, which regarded the settlement of Newfoundland as disadvantageous to their own trade.

In fact, there were stringent laws passed against such settlements by the merchant adventurers, since a prosperous community of shipbuilders and traders would have interfered no little with the channels into which the fish trade with Europe had fallen, and which, so far as England was concerned, was largely dominated, as we have seen, by capitalists of all grades, in the western counties. In spite of this, however, there were about 2000 persons in 1620, scattered in about fifteen small settlements along the eastern shore. In 1623, Lord Baltimore went out in person with a band of settlers and planted an agricultural colony upon the Peninsula of Avalon. But he and his people were so harried by the French that the enterprising nobleman abandoned the attempt and went off to found the great and prosperous province of Maryland. Prior to this a Welsh gentleman, Sir W. Vaughan, had made a similar attempt in the same locality with poor results. Indeed, other reasons apart the French were so jealous of English predominance in the island, that their hostility alone was a strong argument against settlement. The Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 put an end for a time to these troubles; but it accomplished what proved in the long run a far worse thing than mere quarrels, which would have been stamped out by the ultimate predominance of British sea-power. For it gave the French perpetual rights of fishing and erecting appurtenances for the same along much of the northern and western shores, to the virtual exclusion of the Newfoundlanders themselves. The situation has been somewhat modified, but to this very day those entire coasts are practically as desolate as when Cabot landed, and from that time till quite recently the question has been a constant source of friction between the Governments of England and France, and one out of all proportion to its material consequence to the last-named nation, who cherish their rights as a point of

honour rather than as a source of gain, though diplomacy makes shift to veil the fact. One can hardly blame the French, nor in the main, perhaps, the framers of the Treaty of Utrecht, when conditions upon the sea, and in the lands beyond it, were more evenly balanced between the two Powers. The prime offenders responsible for this festering sore are the first Ministry of that unlucky and perverse monarch George III., who negotiated the Treaty of Paris, which closed the triumphant wars of Pitt and left Great Britain at that pinnacle of glory never before and perhaps never since achieved. It was at this hour, when the stroke of a pen would have settled the question for ever, and in the teeth of Pitt's warning voice, that the superfluous concessions— for French objections would have then been powerless— so obstructive to Newfoundland's prosperity and goading to her self-respect, and so fruitful of international asperities, were made.

It was not till 1728 that the first governor— and that too amid strenuous opposition from the fish-trading interest— was appointed by the Crown. By 1763 the population had only reached 8000, and it was then that the neighbouring slice of Labrador was united in administration to the island province. During the Napoleonic wars Newfoundland, for the same obvious reasons as Nova Scotia and some colonies even further remote, made enormous strides. For, apart from the ordinary prizes and profits of the ocean, at a period of British domination, the very fishing fleets of hostile nations were swept from the North American seas. In 1785 the population had been 10,000. By 1814 it had multiplied eight times. It was in this period that cultivation became for the first time an appreciable item in the life of the country. Good oats, potatoes, and grass were grown on the better lands near the coast, while stock thrived wherever sufficient hay could be produced to winter them. St. John's, from the first, was the one and chief town and port in the colony. No other has ever approached it or even made a name recognisable to the average ear on this side of the Atlantic. It was

almost destroyed by a great fire in 1846, and arose from its



ashes to be again the victim of a devastating conflagration in more recent years. In 1855, responsible government was

conceded to the island, but its political history being wholly without any burning questions of race, language, or formidable neighbours, and being that of a community almost entirely dependent on and absorbed in fishing, is not calculated to attract the English reader. It has had periods of intense excitement, but the causes have been purely local and largely personal, as is almost inevitable in a small community all occupied in the same pursuit : for Newfoundland remained, and even still remains, a mere fringe of scattered communities along the eastern and southern shore, with an untouched and but half-explored wilderness behind them. The first Atlantic cable was landed there in 1850, while the decade so prosperous in Great Britain and Canada, that of 1860-1870, was distinguished in Newfoundland for successive failures in the fisheries and widespread destitution.

The Newfoundlander, as well as his circumstances, differs very materially from his kinsman on the mainland. He has developed in comparative isolation along his own lines. The chief sources of his origin are West of England in the first place, and Irish in the second. The flavour of both, particularly the latter, is pronounced in the speech of the common people, and little immigration has gone into the country of late to affect these idiosyncrasies. By comparison with the Anglo-Canadian the typical Newfoundlander of the same class is an old-fashioned unsophisticated sort of man—a hardy, simple sailor—accustomed as a rule to comparatively small earnings and without much push or ambition. He differs both from the Briton of the Old World and of the New, and is, in short, a type to himself.

With good seasons better times came to the island in 1870, and the cultivation of the soil had extended to about 80,000 acres. Saw-mills increased, oil factories were started, and the manufacture of fish-guano instituted. A few necessary manufactures have indeed long existed in St. John's, and a light railway with branches now runs through the island.

Since 1884 Newfoundland has been a good deal in the public eye, chiefly on account of the interminable fishery disputes with France and America, and in a less degree from its financial

troubles, and the attempts made from time to time to bring it into the Canadian Federation. The fishery dispute hangs



so much on the technical interpretation of treaties, and is such a long and complicated story that it cannot be dealt with

here. In brief, however, the French in recent years not merely insisted on a fishing monopoly over nearly one-half of the Newfoundland shore, but stretched their privilege of erecting drying-sheds upon the land to the extent of putting up lobster-tinning factories for which their Government actually paid bounties. Yet more the French opposed the erection of British factories on the same shore, and succeeded in getting the English Government to order the destruction of those in existence. The owners prosecuted the officers who carried out the orders, and won their case, which was upheld by the Privy Council, as the power of naval officers to enforce the Treaty provisions was found to have lapsed in 1832 and to have never been renewed. In retaliation against these bounty-fed, foreign intruders on their soil, as they seemed to the Newfoundlanders, the latter passed an Act, reluctantly sanctioned by the Home Government, which made it difficult for the French to obtain the bait which they had been in the habit of purchasing from the islanders. The French in their turn were indignant, and finally it was agreed, Newfoundland only provisionally consenting, to leave merely such canning establishments upon the north and west as were already in existence. The situation is still unsatisfactory; but what rankles as much as anything, perhaps, in the Newfoundlander's breast is the quasi-proprietorship assumed by the French in all matters connected with several hundred miles of Newfoundland coast—even on one occasion to a successful opposition to railroad development. All this too for results that as regards these Treaty shores are insignificant. The islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, left to the French by the mistaken policy of the Peace of Paris in 1763, are their local headquarters, and have proved a thorn in the flesh, not merely in fishery matters, to the Newfoundlanders, but as smuggling centres in past days to the British Government. During the last decade of the nineteenth century, the island, with more than one uncompleted railroad, became practically bankrupt. In a quite sensational manner it was saved from catastrophe by

a single individual of large capital and enterprise, named Reid. In consideration of grants of wild-land that made



him far the largest proprietor in the world, Mr. Reid completed and conducted the railroads, besides many other leading enterprises, as private concerns, and established a prosperity

in the country it had never before known. The experiment was entirely successful; but it was felt that for a single individual to own almost everything worth owning in an ancient colony, and constitute a financial and consequently a political autocracy, was at odds with the spirit of the times. Mr. Reid and his sons were quite willing to convert their concerns into a company, which at least put the island in a more dignified position.

But since the opening of this century Newfoundland has advanced in all-round prosperity. Its resources have always been admitted to be considerable, but it had hitherto failed to attract capital, and is even still practically unexploited. Its copper-mines are now worked to further advantage, and agriculture, though attracting no outside immigration, has taken a forward step. Above all, the new pulp industry, for the manufacture of paper from wood, has taken root in the colony, whose forests are as yet barely encroached upon. Wild Newfoundland is a network of lakes and streams, and full of salmon and trout, while its forests are prolific in game. But, unlike the neighbouring mainland, primitive Newfoundland is not all forest, there being large intervals of 'barrens' covered with low bush-like growths, which at a distance resemble in appearance Scottish grouse-moors, and not less so for the belts of fir-wood that are always in evidence upon or near them. The sustained isolation of the colony, through her unwillingness to come into the Canadian Federation upon the terms which would be accepted, is the main point of interest from the Imperial standpoint. It can hardly be doubted, however, that her inclusion will be achieved in no long time, and what has all the appearance of an anachronism terminated to the mutual satisfaction of the island, the Dominion, and the Empire.

CHAPTER XI

FEDERATION

FEDERATION very nearly synchronises with the opening of another great epoch in British North American life, which utterly changed the whole outlook of the Canadian people and greatly shifted their centre of gravity. This was the opening of the North west. British Columbia, though covering geographically the same surface that she does to-day, was, as regards population, but a small community at Victoria, on the point of Vancouver Island, and a yet scantier one on the fringe of the opposite mainland, both offshoots of the gold rush of 1849 to California. The Hudson's Bay Company acquired a charter with powers to govern and settle Vancouver Island—an enterprise attended with so little success that the island was subsequently transformed into a Crown colony. A few settlers, either from England direct—then a five months' sea voyage—or by way of the Californian gold-fields, together with some Hudson's Bay employees, founded the town of Victoria. The Indians, both of the mountaneous, densely wooded island and mainland, were of a warlike, unconciliatory disposition, and the settlement flickered feebly till the discovery of gold in 1856 brought thirty thousand diggers into the auriferous canyons of the Fraser river. The mainland then became a second Crown colony with New Westminster, near the mouth of the Fraser, as its capital, to be united in 1866 with the island under one government at Victoria. Little had been accomplished in 1871, when as a mining, fishing, and trading country British Columbia was gathered within the fold of the Canadian Dominion. Its small population had nothing to

do with Canada. It had come by an altogether different route, and had few of the particular characteristics which mark the typical Canadian or Nova Scotian. But when the proposed Canadian Pacific railroad, that had now become the burning question of Canadian policy, undertook to extend itself to British Columbia and link her isolated population with the east, their hopes turned to Canada and her great project. As yet, however, the province was of



ENGLISH BAY, VANCOUVER

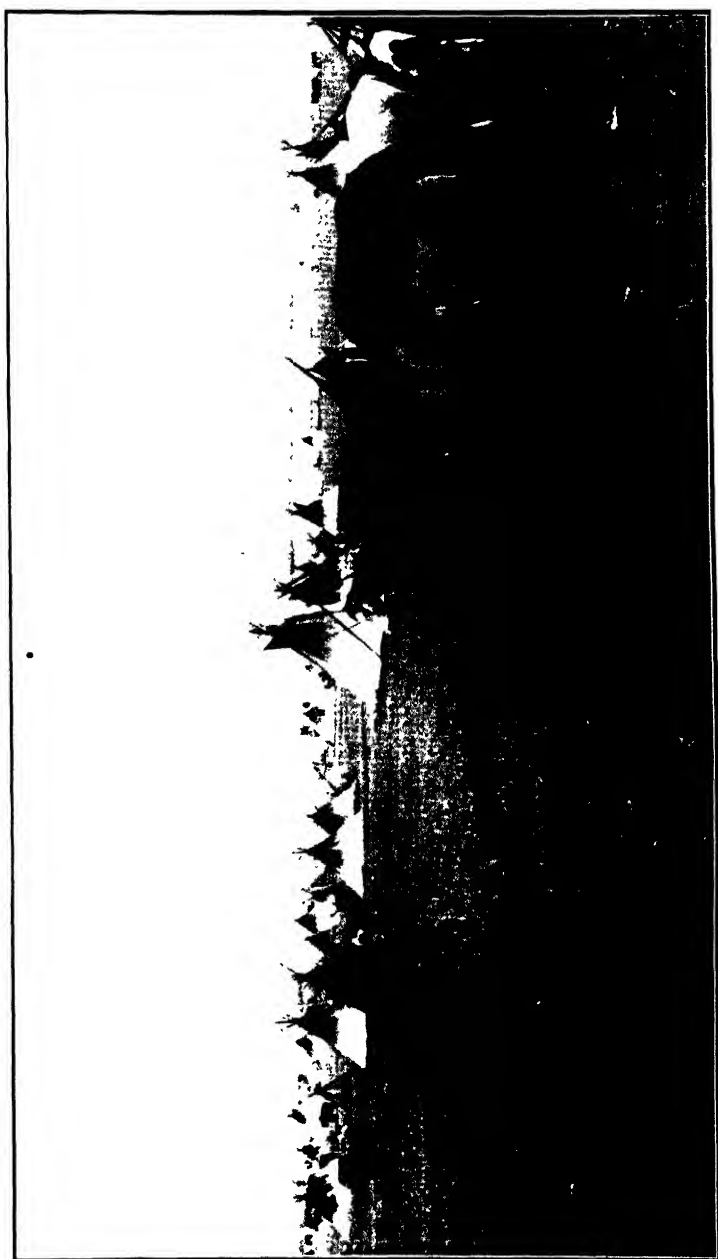
small importance, and scarcely any Canadian had even so much as set eyes upon it. Owing to its settlement being due largely to mid-nineteenth century Britons, fresh or nearly fresh from the Mother Country, an English flavour in speech and social habits still dominates the life of Victoria, while the more vigorous enterprise of the mainland, as typified in the large, more recent city of Vancouver, is chiefly inspired by Canadian influences. It is well, however, to bear always in mind, when considering British North America, that the climate and atmosphere of this British Columbian coast are utterly different from any other part of the Dominion, being approximately those of Devonshire. Certain



crudities of climate due to extremes of temperature are here all softened away, and in the cultivated districts the turf, the smaller natural growths, the very scents, are strikingly suggestive of an English countryside.

But in the sixties, the real North-west, that great prairie country stretching from the Red river to the Rocky Mountains, which is now so conspicuous before the world, had been practically hidden from men's eyes. The vast, woody, and in great part barren, wilderness to the north of Quebec and Ontario known as Rupert's Land, and the aforesaid boundless prairie beyond it were then under the control of the Hudson's Bay Company. The former, as generally uninviting for settlement, was not a pressing question, but the latter was coming very much into the minds of thoughtful men. Ontario as a profitable field for pioneering settlers, as we have seen, had almost come to an end, and the Canadian farmers' sons were being drained away to the American prairies or into the rising American cities. The policy of the Hudson's Bay Company had been to discourage settlement, as wild animals provided their chief source of income, and to make the very worst tale of such agriculture as had been incidentally carried on around their prairie forts. Chief of these last was Fort Garry, upon the site of modern Winnipeg, at the eastern verge of the prairie country.

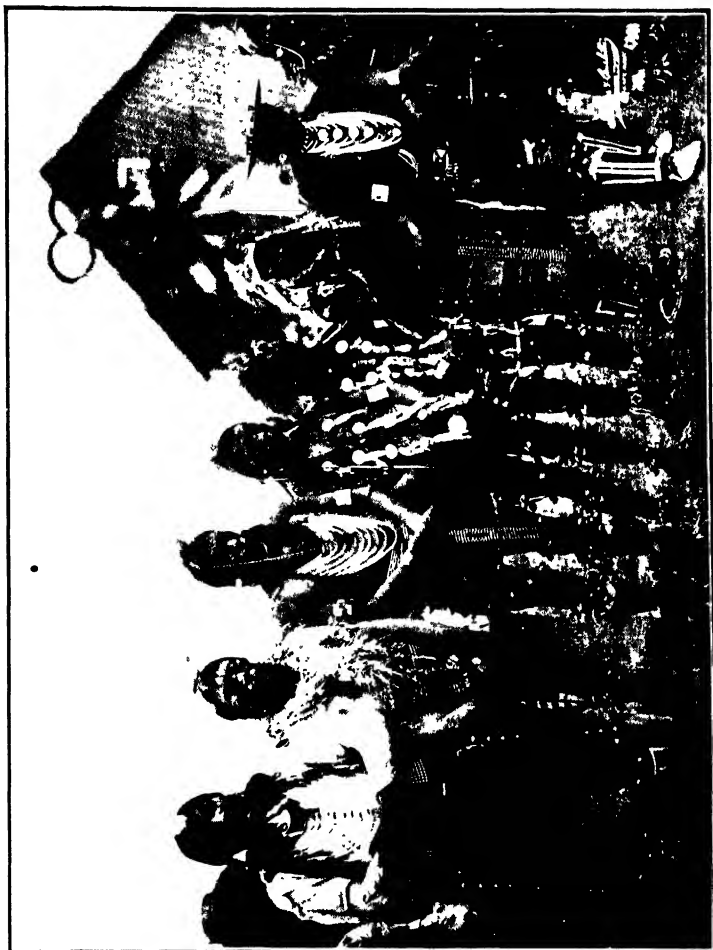
Now Lord Selkirk, that philanthropic promoter of emigration alluded to in a former chapter, had settled a community of farmers early in the century near Fort Garry, and their descendants farming on the Red river with only moderate success, together with the old French and Scottish-Indian half-breeds, employees of the Hudson's Bay fur traders, comprised what was known as the Red River Settlement. Some men asserted with confidence that here were illimitable acres of the best farming land in the world lying fallow. The Hudson's Bay people, on the other hand, with all the authority of those bred in the country, declared that the uncertainty of the crops from frost and the rigours of the long winter made this region impossible as the home of a farming population. It was then a month's journey by



canoe and forest trail from Canada, and no one knew much about it. Long before this the North-West Fur Trading Company of Montreal, and the Hudson's Bay people, after disputes, culminating sometimes in bloodshed, had amalgamated. Both had treated the handful of agricultural settlers, mostly Scottish, with scant consideration, and some later arrivals were actually murdered; but still the community survived in a few score farms scattered along the river bank, while a whole horde of half-bred Indians, of French or Scottish cross, followed the fur trade, though domiciled around Fort Garry, where the company had maintained some sort of local government. In 1869, after the company had made over their territorial interests in the North-west to the Crown, the Dominion Government were empowered to take over the country. The Governor with his officials, surveyors, and others who entered the province and conducted the preliminaries, were as a body tactless and over-precipitate, causing thereby a panic among the ignorant half-breeds who had been persuaded that annexation meant the confiscation of their lands. Many, too, of the old Scotch employees of the Hudson's Bay were averse to the abrogation of the ancient powers of the company, and secretly encouraged the disaffection.

A French half-breed, Louis Riel, now became the leader of the more reckless faction, overawed the new Government and practically held them at defiance, and eventually the insurgents seized Fort Garry and proclaimed a Government of their own. The British element among them, however, objecting to these extreme proceedings, now withdrew their sympathy, and the Government, recognising their mistakes in procedure, would have arranged the affair peacefully but that the reckless insurgent leader, Riel, caused one Scott, a prominent Ontario Orangeman, to be shot in cold blood. This aroused the Ontario British, and in the summer of 1870 under Colonel, afterwards Lord, Wolseley, a body of 500 regulars and 700 Canadians marched through the wilderness and settled the matter without any bloodshed, Riel having fled in the meantime to the United States. The expedition

was three months in accomplishing the march from Ontario, accompanied by pack carriers, raftsmen, and canoe men, a



journey now achieved in thirty-six hours on the Canadian Pacific Railway.

The present writer was well acquainted, comparatively soon after their return, with many Canadians who accompanied the expedition, and well remembers the interest attaching to persons who had actually seen with their own

eyes the mysterious far-away land about which men told such absolutely opposite tales.

The Red river country was now formed into the province of Manitoba, which when ripe was received into the Federation, while old Fort Garry, then a village of a few hundred souls, became Winnipeg, which within the next decade or so increased to a city of 30,000. The



THE BEGINNING OF A PRAIRIE FARM

boundaries of Manitoba were now defined, while the rest of the much vaster country between these and the Rocky Mountains was in due course divided into territories to be administered by a local government until their population warranted promotion as a province into the Dominion Federation. Looking backward now with our present knowledge, this annexation by Canada of a fertile and illimitable west of its own might well seem to make these years 1871-1873 the most momentous in all her history. The middle-aged among us can easily remember when the 'Farthest West' of Canada for all practical purposes,

representing too a sense of finality, was the newer counties of Ontario on Lake Huron, which even then were within five or six hours' rail of Toronto! The north-western prairies, now swarming with life and abundance, so far as they were in men's minds at all, were regarded as probably unfit for agricultural occupation even had they been sufficiently accessible for making the attempt. Now, however, the whole outlook of the country was quite different, and its perspective had utterly shifted.

It must not, however, be supposed that all this was at once recognised except by a few far-sighted people who backed their opinions, as the conception and promotion of that gigantic work, the Canadian Pacific Railroad, amply testifies. The present writer can vividly remember the prevalent feeling of doubt as to this vague new country expressed by the man in the street during the early seventies. The notion of linking East and West, the Atlantic to the Pacific, had already been put into practical shape by a company, and as supported by the Conservative party at Ottawa this became the great political question over which the two parties struggled for many a year. The promoters of the new railroad were then called madmen by half the country; they are now held in honour as patriots by the whole of it. From habitable Ontario the new railroad would run through 700 miles of mainly rocky barrens, full of engineering obstacles, to Winnipeg; thence for 800 miles it would traverse the much-debated prairie country, an attenuated strip in any case as was then imagined, and for the whole distance inconveniently near to the American border line. Then came the wide and stupendous barrier of the Rocky Mountains, unprolific and uninhabitable for 200 miles, with a rapid drop to the British Columbia coast line, contemptible as this last then seemed to many as a commercial objective point for such a gigantic undertaking.

We know now that the croakers were all wrong and that the railroad not only pays, but falls so far short in carrying away the products of all this country that two more main lines are being pushed through it. But there was much to

be said for the unbelievers of that dark period. Anyone



who was then of an age to be interested in the matter with a normal grasp of the physical and geographic

conditions and the comparative poverty at that time of the Dominion, can only admire the more the great faith



that prompted the makers of this railroad to persevere. It is needless to say that it was built very largely with British and European capital. But by a considerable proportion of the Canadian people its stockholders were regarded as dupes; they have now been for long in receipt of good dividends and the stock far above par. The

Grand Trunk, it should be remembered, then traversing the two habitable Canadas, had proved a dead loss financially. So had the 600 miles of the Intercolonial railroad from Quebec to the maritime provinces. How then could this costly work traversing 2000 miles of wilderness give a better result? Was the mere possession of an all-British route from the Atlantic to the Pacific in case of war worth such fabulous sums? These questions seemed more than pertinent and were fiercely contested. Governments went in and out upon them. Travellers to Canada in that day spoke jestingly of Dominion politics as reduced to the single absorbing question of a railroad, 'to be or not to be.' But they did not realise what to a huge country, above all one of such peculiar geographical shape, a thin belt stretching for 3000 miles from ocean to ocean along the frontier of a powerful neighbour of singularly magnetic significance, the said railroad might or might not mean. As a matter of fact it has meant everything.

To attempt here any relation of the difficult task that confronted the Canadian Government in financing this stupendous work, and how after many vicissitudes and much intermingling of Government subsidies, guarantees, and private enterprise it was finally surmounted under the auspices of the present company, would be altogether too meticulous for these pages. There were dramatic moments when the coffers were empty without definite prospect of replenishment, and the promoters, it is credibly said, staked the last dollar of their own fortunes and strained their credit to the uttermost in averting a catastrophe.

If the rugged Ontario section, from Ottawa to the head of Lake Superior, and thence to Winnipeg, proved more costly than expected, the passage of the Rockies offered far greater, and what for the moment seemed almost insurmountable, obstacles. Ontario and Quebec had fought over the inception of the railroad as affecting their respective interests in different ways, and when in 1874 not a mile had as yet been built, British Columbia grew impatient and threatened to secede from the Dominion Federation.

Lord Dufferin, who was Governor-General, though the old powers of that great position had long passed away, found ample scope for his diplomatic ability in helping to reconcile the conflicting interests of parties and provinces in this all-absorbing question. The Conservative party under Sir John Macdonald were the forward and pledged



TUNNEL ON C.P.R., LAKE SUPERIOR

railroad party, while the Liberals under Alexander Mackenzie were, if not half-hearted, at least all for caution and only such progress as the financial situation of the moment warranted, regardless of the threats of the Pacific province. Some irregularities associated with capitalists and party funds all in the railroad interests, widely suspected and afterwards corroborated, swept Sir John Macdonald from power in 1872, and for the next six years matters advanced but little. A certain amount of immigration from Ontario and Great Britain proceeded to Manitoba by a water and road route occupying nearly a fortnight or by way of the

United States. But the grasshopper plague was still apt



FREDERICK TEMPLE, 1ST MARQUIS OF DUFFERIN AND AVA,
GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA, 1872-1878

to ravage such crops as there were in the North-west, besides the more abiding danger of early frosts, while the market communications were, of course, very inefficient. The

great Canadian North-west was nevertheless an accepted fact, though the problem upon which everyone in old Canada had



TWIN FALLS, B.C., ON C.P.R.

something to say, was whether or not this North-west would prove suitable for permanent colonisation on a large scale. Upon one side the Old Hudson's Bay verdict, which it must be admitted later settlement so far had done little to modify, was upheld and the opinion freely

vented that Manitoba was not fit for a great agricultural population. On the other were people who professed a firm belief in the great future of that country. The most sanguine, however, felt that the railroad was an indispensable preliminary, and throughout most of the seventies its construction seemed a remote contingency.

Though political finality had now been successfully achieved, Canada generally came to a pause in its hitherto rapid advance. Immigration of any numerical consequence ceased to come in, and though there was always scope for the energetic, the obvious opportunities presented in former days were closed. The available fertile cheap lands of the old provinces were filled up and a growing competition in local trade overran the slower rate of progress in demand for manufactured goods on the part of the farmers.

The rate at which the United States on the other hand prospered provoked unfavourable contrast with the limited opportunities and lesser energy of Canada while the constant movement of Canadian youth across the frontier was barely neutralised by immigration from Europe. Then in 1878 Macdonald and the Conservatives came in again and the railroad once more became the foremost question. The cost, however, when contrasted with the financial status of the country seemed intimidating to all but the stoutest hearts. There had always been the hope, when things should be in a reasonably forward financial condition, of an imperial guarantee, but now on being applied for it was refused. At this juncture, in 1881, a private company came forward representing capitalists in London, Paris, and New York. Five million sterling and twenty-five million acres of land along the course of the new road was the price paid to the new corporation, which received in addition such sections of the line as were already built or in the making. Work now proceeded vigorously, but the difficulties were still so great that the Government, taking, it is always said, risks that were justified by the faith of its leaders and the triumphant results, had again to come to the financial support of the company. The railroad was finally completed in 1885-1886, and was the greatest

undertaking in extent and feats of engineering hitherto known. It will always be particularly associated with the names of Lords Strathcona and Mount Stephen, Sir John Macdonald and Sir Charles Tupper. The first rush of any consequence to the North-west took place in 1881-1882, when the section of road between Lake Superior and Winnipeg had been completed, to be rapidly extended over the prairies that stretched from thence to the Rocky Mountains. A boom then occurred of a more than usually inflated kind. Immigrants from Old Canada and Great Britain jostled one another for sites in the still rough streets and weedy environs of Winnipeg and the little embryo towns that sprang up along the line of railroad. Prices leaped up to fictitious values for every conceivable form of real estate. Much of all this was paper, many of the newcomers, too, were ill suited to the conditions of life, and the bubble burst, leaving the new country in a state of great depression, its capital of Winnipeg, however, with 30,000 inhabitants and a few little towns with two or three thousand each scattered along the railroad. But the towns after all were secondary in a country that was to stand or fall by agriculture, and this had taken a firm hold. Farmers and farmers' sons from Ontario and the other old provinces of Canada were the true founders and the backbone of the North-west. They began their migration before the railroad, but went in with it in such numbers as to depress the value of land in the old provinces and to remove from it the very people who had previously purchased the farms there which came into the market.

In a new country it is natural that a young farmer starting in life should be attracted by the prospect of a farm of rich virgin soil, acquired for next to nothing, which, humanly speaking, will steadily increase in value with the mere growth of the country, and that he should prefer this to an old-established homestead, costing far more money, that had no reason for growing in value or for producing a larger return. That the young should be ready to sacrifice some present comfort and that even middle-aged men should be tempted to sell the old homestead for a price that would purchase many new ones in a

new country is natural. This, indeed, is an ever-recurrent feature of great economic force in Canadian and North



American life. Whether the old homestead in the east with its comforts but limitations is better or worse than the new raw country with its present discomforts but great potentialities is a problem that has vexed the soul of hundreds

of thousands of country folk all over the eastern belt of North America for generations. In rural New England and some other parts of the Eastern States the opening of the west by railroads had for a time an almost disastrous effect. It uprooted the sound old farming stock, scattered them, though no doubt to their material well-being, all over the middle and farther west, broke the links of two centuries of continuous association and introduced a new element from cities or a lower one from foreign countries to the abandoned farms.

Ontario was too good a country for that and has weathered the storm, but Ontario and in a less degree the maritime provinces suffered heavily for years from the drain. The North-west was a richer Ontario over again, and that too without the labour of clearing off timber which had made premature old men of many of the fathers and grandfathers of that generation of Canadians to whom the North-west first offered itself. But the promise was after all a long time in its fulfilment. Winnipeg and the small towns grew very slowly. Competent East Canadian farmers and, speaking generally, a less experienced element of British colonists settled the land along the railroad. Manitoba had its Lieutenant-Governor and provincial Legislature like the rest of the provinces and became gradually a more important member of the Dominion Federation, while the territories with their modified self-government bided their time till qualified for full honours at Ottawa as the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta. There was some prolonged friction between the French Catholics, whose influence dated back to the old Hudson's Bay period, and the now overwhelming British element in the matter of education.¹ But in North-western politics the greatly predominating interests were those of land development and immigration.

¹ The educational system of the North-west was ultimately brought into line with that in force in the older provinces of Canada. A sufficient minority of either faith, that is to say, in any school district, could claim their share of the education rate for the maintenance of a school of their own, which last then came under the supervision of either the Roman Catholic or Protestant Committee of the Provincial Board of Education.

and, for some reason not quite apparent even to those intimate with the conditions, these last did not progress as they should.



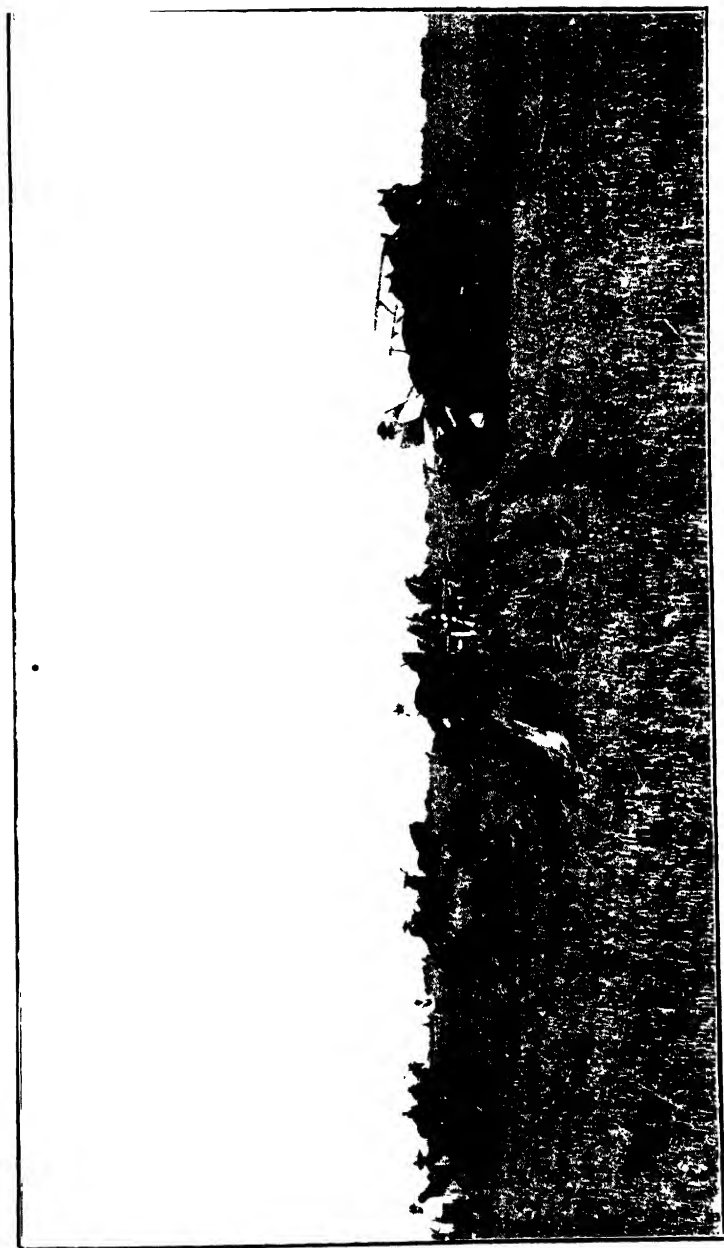
From the beginning of the eighties till near the end of the nineties, the Canadian West, though thousands of inarticulate persevering individuals were content with their lot, and with good reason, did not spell success in the ears of the world. The old grasshopper plague disappeared, but

destructive hailstorms and early frosts before the grain had hardened wrought great or partial havoc, and a long era of low prices gave further cause for disappointment. Under these conditions the long severe winter pressed harder on the colonists, not always well equipped for resisting it, and only the more stout-hearted and sanguine retained that confidence in the future of the country which time has more than justified.

It is hardly too much to say that for the greater part of two decades this vast and prolific country which is now the envy of the rest was the Cinderella of all British fields of serious enterprise. In the Mother Country there was seldom a good word for it, even in older Canada there was disappointment and great division of opinion. Unquestionably it went slowly; fast enough perhaps to stir the fancy of European globe-trotters and correspondents who were not used to the standard of new countries, and were moved to enthusiasm by the doubling of small towns in a decade or the very moderate spread of settlers over the prairie. But the North-Westerners knew, and the Canadians knew, and the Americans knew that things were going far too slowly for such a country; and so they were. European capitalists would have little to say to it. With the risks from frost and the prevalence of low prices the prospects, even on paper calculations, were not sufficient to counteract the drawbacks of a rather lonely life and a very low temperature. The asylums were full, it was said, of farmers' wives driven mad by the strain, the monotony and the solitude. It was not easy to sell an improved farm at a fair value, and those who got the chance frequently took it. The majority, however, had no such chance, they could not get away if they wished to. Their opinions on the future of the country were extraordinarily divergent, as the present writer has good reason for knowing. But the far-sighted and the stout-hearted as well as the pessimists, who were by no means always the weaklings or the faint-hearted, benefited alike when the country came into its own at the end of the century. The long depression of the North-west

FEDERATION



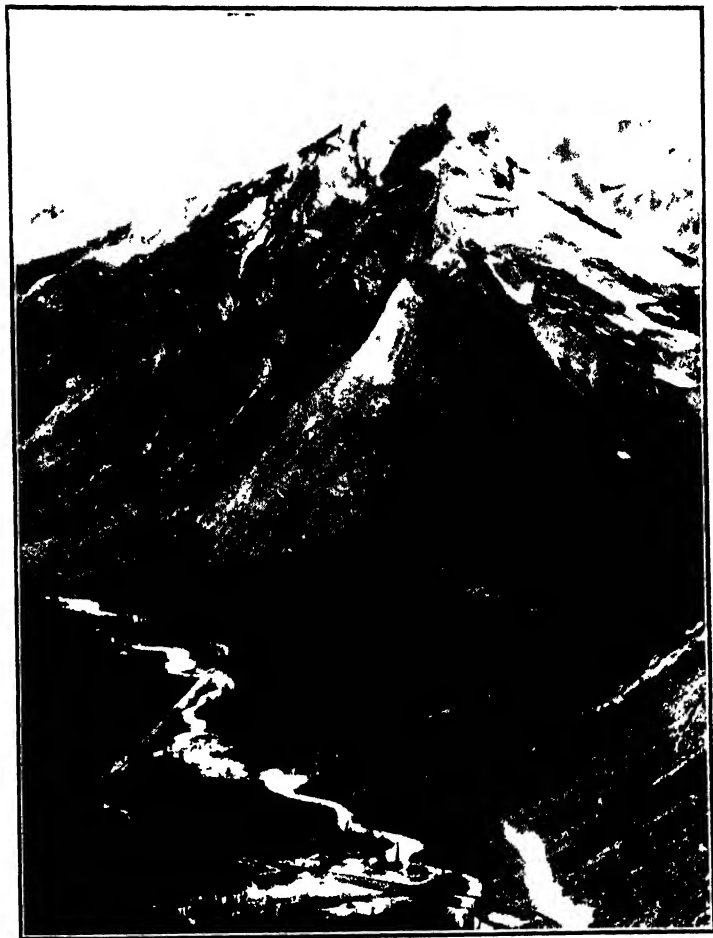


before its sudden and remarkable rise will always be something of a puzzle even to those who knew it well.

In 1885 there was another rising of the half-breeds and some Indians indirectly provoked by the inevitable encroachments of civilisation upon the wilderness. This was in part the fault of the Government at Ottawa, who neglected to set right some of their genuine grievances. But the causes were trifling and indeed obscure. The gist of the matter was the old, old story—the incompatibility of civilisation with the half-savage hunter occupying a cabin with a patch of tillage. A very small matter blazed into a rebellion which, though quite hopeless as such, cost several hundred lives and a great deal of money. Riel, who had been a refugee in the United States, was now again at the head of the rebels. Several thousand Canadian militia took the field against him and there was some brief but sharp fighting before the rebellion was quelled. Riel was captured and this time met the fate that he deserved. Incredible as it will seem, the French Canadians made passionate and even menacing appeals to Sir John Macdonald's Government in favour of Riel's pardon, but the Ministry, which included several French Canadians, stood firm and the leader of two rebellions got his deserts.

Another policy besides that of railroad progress was introduced by Sir John Macdonald in 1878 which has had a far-reaching effect. Since a trade reciprocity treaty with the States had been terminated by the latter in 1866, all attempts of Canada to make another or to penetrate the American markets had failed. As an alternative the Macdonald Government in 1878 inaugurated a system of higher tariffs, known as 'The National Policy' for the encouragement of native manufactures. The whole Dominion hitherto had been mainly engaged in producing raw materials. The nucleus of a manufacturing interest had begun, to be sure, particularly in Ontario, but so far the results were insignificant, the United States and the Mother Country supplying nearly all the articles required by Canadians. The Liberal party were strong free traders with

a minimum tariff for revenue ; the Conservatives, always inclined the other way, now came out as high protectionists.



JEFFERSON VALLEY, B.C.

In response to this factories sprang up all over Ontario, and though it may not have been that, for a decade or more, great success was achieved, certain industries established a reputation and prosperity which at least contrasted favourably with the prevailing condition of agriculture or lumbering.

Ontario, from the number of its fast-running rivers, was peculiarly adapted for a manufacturing country. The National Policy stimulated the rise of the many little manufacturing towns that now dot the province in all directions and have developed so amazingly since the rise of the North-west brought a new life to the older provinces.

As the North-west, from the beginning of the eighties after the first boom, till near the close of the nineties, disappointed its friends, so the Dominion at large failed to advance as a new country should. The cities grew, but partly at the expense of stagnant country towns. The farmers, situated very much as were farmers in England during the long period of low prices suffered from Western competition. Their sons went away to the virgin lands of the American or Canadian West, or yet more often into business in the United States, while trade and commerce moved altogether too slowly. The contrast in rate of development and prosperity between the Dominion and its great neighbour during this period was unavoidable and painfully significant. The Canadians themselves admitted and deplored it as freely as others, though no one could altogether account for the cause. The general average of comfort was undoubtedly high, but then the average of hard work was also high, and there is no question but that the rewards for such were hardly adequate, while the number of wealthy people in the country, a standard valued beyond the Atlantic and certainly of value as a test, were few. Canada was regarded by Americans with good-natured contempt as a slow-going country trammelled no doubt, they would generally add, by its monarchical fetters. Its name suggested wealth to no one in any country. Australasians, for instance, among whom the evidences of great wealth from pastoral and other sources were numerous and a greater profusion existed, always alluded to it, whether as a field of enterprise or a place of residence, as inferior to their own islands.

But these after all were matters of comparison, and though provoking and disappointing to Canadians did not prevent the country from continuing to prosper

a quiet way, though the dominating agricultural



interest, with an immense tradition for hard work and capacity, did little more than make both ends meet.

CHAPTER XII

TRIUMPH AND TRANSFORMATION

THE wheels of Federal and provincial politics now ran smoothly. The province of Quebec grew more and more overwhelmingly French in the rural districts by the fecundity of its *habitants* and the drifting away of the old British farming element to fields of wider enterprise. The superfluous French population, however, went comparatively little either to the British or American West, but by thousands to the New England factories, often accompanied by their priests. A considerable proportion of these emigrants keep in touch with their old parishes, sending back money to pay off debts and mortgages and frequently returning themselves to live easy frugal unambitious lives in the home of their fathers. Primary education, still in the hands of the Catholic Church, had been organised in a manner acceptable to French-Canadian opinion, while the British of Quebec province suffered nothing by it. Everywhere, however, in Canada education is now free and compulsory.

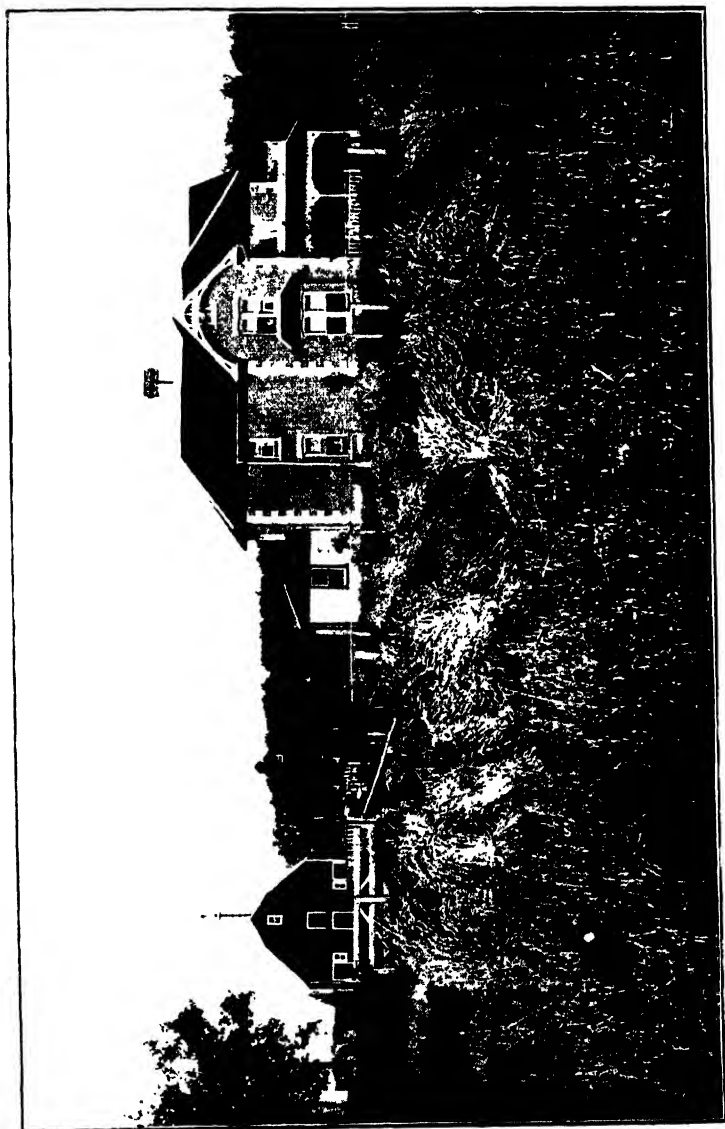
In Quebec, where the French Catholics form 80 per cent. of the population, the Central Board of Education is divided into two committees, Catholic and Protestant, each controlling their respective schools and the funds proportionately available for each. Any body of Protestants, for instance, in a district may set up a school and apply the education rate due by themselves individually to its maintenance under the supervision of the Protestant Committee. In Ontario and elsewhere, where the Catholics are in a small minority, they have similar privileges. The various Protestant denominations have a right to set up separate



schools under the same conditions if they wish, but it is so rarely taken advantage of as to be scarcely worthy of notice. There are secondary schools under Government control more or less free, and upon much the same lines as the intermediate schools in this country, fed, to a great extent, by the primary schools. In Ontario a Minister of Education and his department have the management. Each school district of a township has a popularly elected Board who collect and apply the school rates and have full control except in matters such as the qualification of teachers, which are obviously the concern of the central authority. The western and maritime provinces have systems practically identical with that of Ontario.

In the province of Quebec, French ecclesiastics and British educational superintendents sit amicably to-day upon the same Board and distribute *pro rata* the money granted to their respective followings without discord or friction. The bitterness between English and French in Canada has been racial rather than religious; the diversity of creed between the races dates for them from the beginning of time, as time counts on the North American continent, and is so much a matter of course that the antipathy which the Protestants and Catholics, *as such*, cherish against one another in some other countries, scarcely exists. Proselytising from either side has never had a chance. The Roman Catholic religion has been always treated with respect officially by the dominant British influence, whatever the racial rancour, while the British have always been too strong to suffer annoyance in their religious faith, had the desire to annoy them been present. The religious quarrels of the English provinces, now things of the far past, have been wholly among Protestants. The Irish Catholic population in all the provinces, Quebec included, have their own organisation. They, too, have been removed from any cause of irritation, though where townships of Orangemen and Catholics adjoin one another, as in some midland counties of Ontario, the faction fights were a frequent and lively feature of their respective

festival days during a portion of the last century, but this



no doubt was in part due to mere exuberance of spirits. The higher education of their faith has been for long well

looked after by the Catholic bishops and clergy. Laval University in Quebec, which sprang from the seminary founded by the famous Jesuit bishop of that name in ancient times, is, together with that school and a branch at Montreal, now as ever the heart of French-Canadian culture, while the University of Toronto, with its affiliated colleges and the McGill College at Montreal, occupy the same position towards the English-speaking population of both provinces.

Quebec city, by the Act of Federation, together with the subsequent withdrawal of the British garrisons from Canada, and above all by the extension of heavy ocean traffic up the river to Montreal, lost most of its small but hitherto powerful British element and some of the commercial activity it had previously possessed. It is now the quietly prosperous but serene capital of French Canada, and remains the most picturesque, historically interesting and nobly situated city in North America, the delight every season of thousands of tourists from every quarter of the Continent and from the Old World. The French Canadians, though as a whole materially unambitious and easy-going, have of course many ardent commercial spirits among them. Yet it may fairly be hoped that Quebec will not be tempted to emulate at a remote distance the commercialism of Montreal and Toronto, and to destroy by mills and factories that unique character which makes it the object of pilgrimage to such increasing numbers and the pride of the Dominion. All along both banks of the St. Lawrence for a hundred miles below the city, and for more than that up the river levels to Montreal, the farms of the *habitants* succeed one another with but slight interruption. The quaint one-storied, brightly tinted houses, with dormers and projecting eaves, stand at the end of their long, narrow half-mile strip of grass and tillage, and so near together at times as to resemble the street of some interminable straggling village. Orchards and woods with tapering church spires, and here and there a convent or a village, give the landscape a character all its own and of a

quite different type from that of Ontario or the maritime



provinces, which display the later British method of settlement and habitation. As the traveller, leaving Montreal

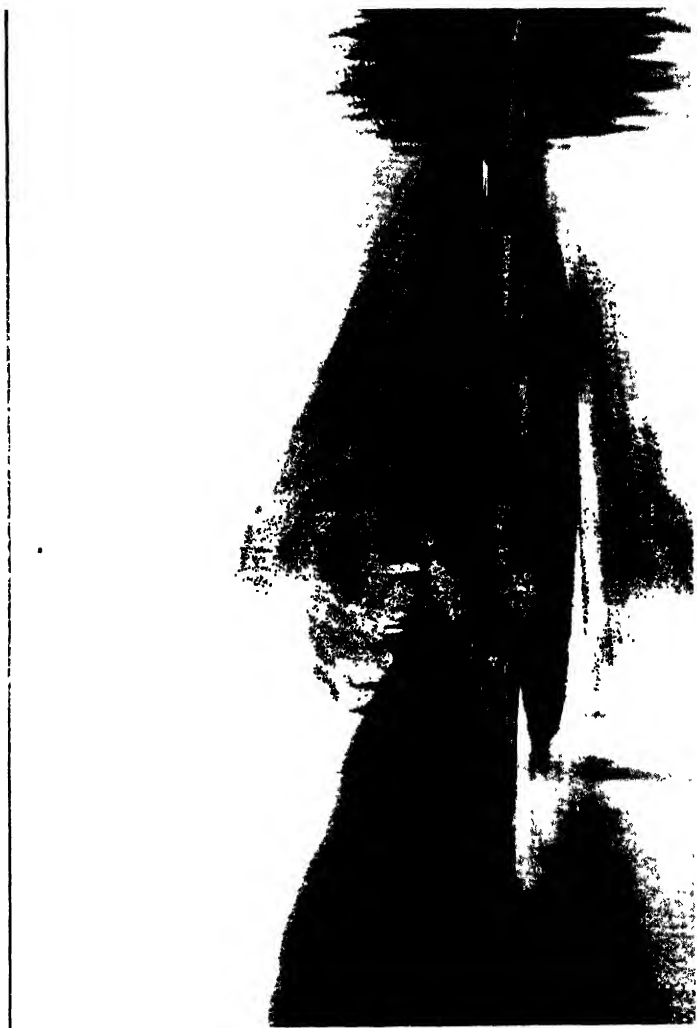
behind him, passes into Ontario, he becomes sensible of the change at once, though the natural features of the country are practically the same. The homesteads are now larger and altogether more ambitious, and scattered here and there as in England, amid rectangular fields. The one prospect is typical of the old seventeenth-century French colonist, the other of the methods of the British race which settled most of North America.

Montreal itself, with its 300,000 people, the largest city and the commercial capital of the Dominion, is the one point where the British and French live side by side in any appreciable numbers, the French majority being about two to one. The strength of the British in the old French city is not so much due to the fact of its situation near the Ontario border as to its pre-eminence in commerce and manufactures, in which the Anglo-Canadians are overwhelmingly the chief operators. But even in Montreal, where the two races live actually side by side, they mix together but little, after all these many generations of fellow-citizenship. This is an outstanding if at first sight curious feature of Canadian life. It is not uncommon to find English men and women under the impression that the present-day Canadians are a people of mixed blood, that is, an Anglo-French people, because they are understood to possess the same country in more or less harmonious relationship. Nothing indeed could be more completely erroneous. To a very large extent they are, as the reader will have gathered, geographically separated; but even when this is not the case, as at Montreal and Ottawa, the capital, also a mixed town, and a few other small places and country districts, the line is sharply drawn between the races. That in all classes there are exceptions, or in other words intermarriages, need hardly be stated, but they count for so little in a general estimate as to be outside serious consideration. Though all the French higher classes speak English and a fair proportion of their British compatriots, in Montreal at least, speak French, there is scarcely any intermarriage, and in private life the two races keep virtually aloof from one another, as they have

always done since the conquest. One cause for this lies in the fact that intermarriage is actively discouraged by the strongly ultramontane Catholic Church of Canada, and the French Canadian of either sex in every class is a devout Catholic. Nor indeed is this all, for the cleavage in language, religion, temperament, tradition, and education raises a social barrier between the races and creates a sort of mutually antipathetic instinct. There is little, however, of definite dislike in this, and when occasion requires, French and English can act together in public or private with perfect harmony. Though the rancour of former days has passed away they still pull apart a little in many minor matters. There is nothing, however, that could even be twisted into a logical grievance left to rankle, though the political firebrand who finds notoriety or profit in raking up imaginary ones is not extinct. The troubles with which the reader has been made acquainted in these pages are altogether forgotten by most of the present generation, while as regards the Anglo-Canadian, his thoughts are wholly in the present and future, and he concerns himself as little with what he would consider ancient history as any civilised people on the face of the globe, and not much with any literature but light fiction or works of practical utility. The French since Federation have had their own way in their own province, while in Federal matters they have frequently divided between the two parties, though generally Conservative themselves by instinct. Being as a mass less politically educated than their neighbours, though fonder perhaps of literature—in their case, as is natural, French literature—they are more susceptible to leadership, above all when their nationality is flattered. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, though a Liberal in politics and not in all ways a typical French Canadian, they have supported almost as one man; in a word, they are intensely proud of him, and not without justice.

The Anglo-Canadian resents the lack of commercial enterprise and the easy-going contentment with the mild joys of life which characterise his French partner. The latter would

probably retort that the building of railroads and electrical plants, the peopling, ploughing, and sowing of new territories,



the making of engines and cloth and boots in increasing quantities, and even the acquiring of fortune did not spell his notion of enjoyment in this brief life, while the figures

consequent on such triumphs did not particularly appeal to his imagination. He feels himself to be the citizen of an old land that he regards with affectionate contentment, to which he is attached as a Frenchman is to France, and wherein he expects to live his life and end his days. He still cherishes an affection, though of an academic kind, for his motherland, the study of whose literature helps greatly to preserve the attachment. When driven afield for a living by lack of scope at home or even by individual enterprise, he usually hopes to return and very often does so. He is not greatly concerned whether the population of Manitoba or British Columbia doubles or trebles in ten years, or whether five or ten thousand Ontario reaping machines are annually sold in Europe. And why should he? an English reader may very likely remark. But to the Anglo-Canadian, to whom material progress is the very breath of life, such serenity seems to betoken a grievous and reprehensible, almost unnatural state of mind. Yet after all this is of very slight consequence. If the one race, speaking generally, lacks enterprise and is inclined for a quiet life in its own ancient province, the other is too much perhaps under the thrall of material standards and of purely material accomplishment.

The first question that almost always rises to the lips of any Briton interested in or travelling about Canada relates to the loyalty of the French Canadians. Their attitude in this respect is a most natural topic of primary interest, and yet after all it resolves itself into a matter of extreme simplicity. For the French Canadian's attachment to the Crown is irrevocably provided for him by circumstances; he has, in short, no alternative. He naturally dreads annexation to the United States, where his individuality would in time be contemptuously if good-naturedly crushed, and his corporate importance enormously decreased by absorption into so huge a Federation. Nor has an independent Canada with a rapidly increasing preponderance of Anglo-Canadians, who would monopolise all the glory that may or may not pertain to the situation, the slightest attraction for the French, who, since Fate has irrevocably provided them with

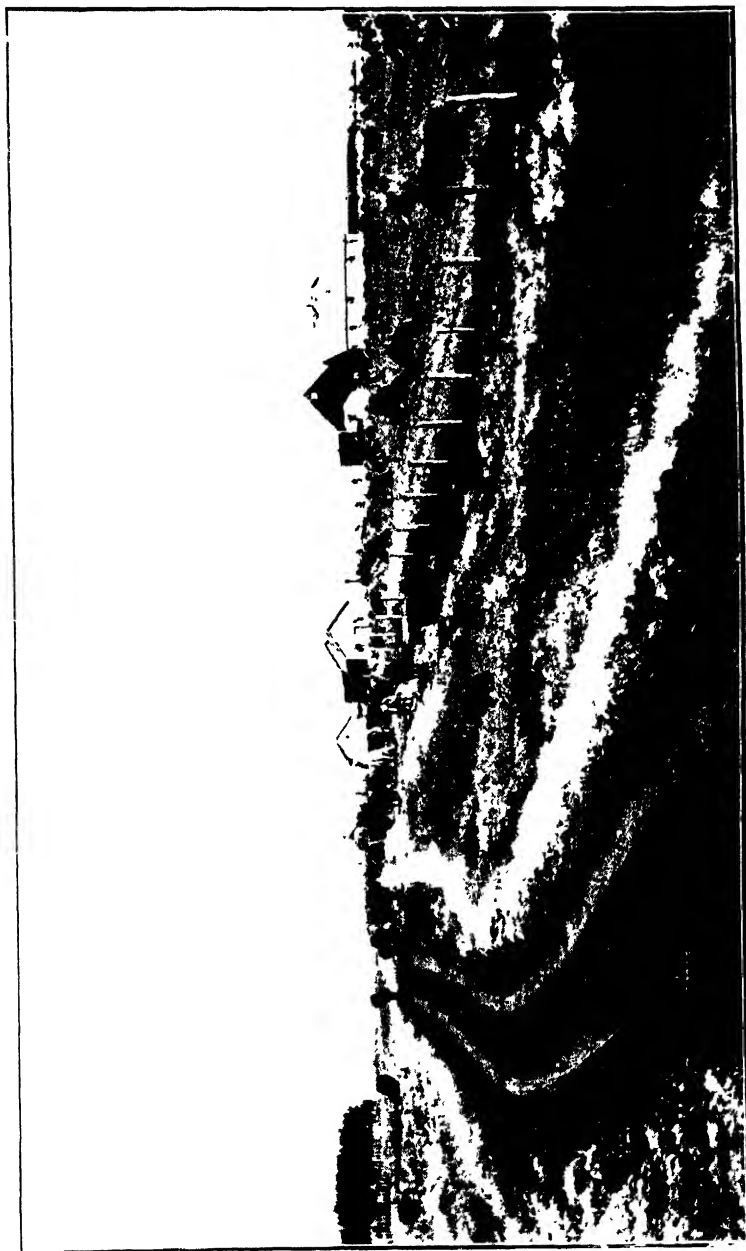
a predominant partner of the English-speaking Protestant



persuasion, most naturally prefer to retain a court of appeal, as it were, in the detached impartiality of the Imperial

Government. If this were not self-evident, it may be noted in passing that the appeal from the Supreme Courts of the Dominion to the House of Lords, which is still retained in Canada, is more valued by the French than by the British element. Lastly, it is hardly necessary to add that Quebec as a little independent nation has no place whatever in the wildest dreams of anyone. But this very attachment to the Crown has been frequently mistaken in England for Imperial enthusiasm, a misunderstanding which is foolish in itself and unfair to the French Canadians, who as a mass could not be expected to share a sentiment that is after all in great part a matter of race pride. Their position is, in fact, a curious and indeed quite exceptional one. One observer, on discovering almost everywhere a fixed attachment to the Imperial connexion, mistakes it for a sentiment similar to his own as Briton. Another, encountering an indifference among the French to British enterprises in other parts of the world, coupled with a natural predilection among the educated for the literature of Old France, runs away with the notion that this spells disloyalty. So though the matter itself is simple enough it is nearly always obscured in interpretation.

The precise year when Canada woke up and came into her own would be difficult to determine, even if it were necessary. It is enough that the movements which have accomplished such a prodigious change began during the last five years of the nineteenth century. As this book is a history, it is not within its province to do more than briefly notice movements that fill so much space to-day in current literature and journalism. Only those who remember Canada at the close of the rapid development of the old provinces before the North-west was an appreciable item, who were in touch with the country through its two decades of disappointing progress, and have seen it again in its transformation within the last one, can fully appreciate the significance of all that has passed. History will tell in detail of this rapid rise, but the future historian will not realise what a surprise the rapidity of the transformation has been to a generation



who witnessed the building of the Canadian Pacific railroad, and, what is more, the long period of deferred expectations which followed its completion.

The said historian, however, will have a singularly effective date with which to drive home the renaissance of Canada, since 1900 might fairly stand for the beginning of a new epoch which by that date was practically assured. But history will not be able to reproduce the significant contrast between the tone in which the Dominion was alluded to in the world at large during the nineteenth and that universally adopted in the twentieth century. This change in attitude is simply prodigious. Formerly, it is hardly too much to say that the Canadian in his walks abroad found himself either in a chronic state of apology for the comparative failure of his country to make the most of its great advantages or under the necessity of explaining that Canada was not buried for nine months of the year under as many feet of snow. He had to admit that, judged by the usual standards, the country was financially a poor one. In his heart he knew there was something wrong, and indeed said so at home pretty loudly. Yet at the same time he was well aware of the general level and even rising level of modest sufficiency that distinguished all classes of Canadians. But this did not appeal to the capitalist, or very greatly during this period to the emigrating classes with or without capital, while lurid tales of hardships endured in the North-west had greatly prejudiced the British public. That a great change came about towards the end of the nineties has been stated, and it is mainly remarkable for the continuous and unabated strength of the rising tide through a whole decade of by no means uninterrupted buoyancy elsewhere. I have already remarked that it has astonished the Canadians themselves, and this chiefly because the reasons for it had mostly been waiting and obvious, calling in vain to a deaf world for years till a majority of the people themselves had almost begun to doubt. The machine had indeed been long ready, but it refused to work properly. Then of a sudden the wheels turned and off it went at a pace that has astonished the world. Canada,

instead of being, as of yore, the Cinderella of our greater colonies, is their El Dorado. The Canadian, no longer a



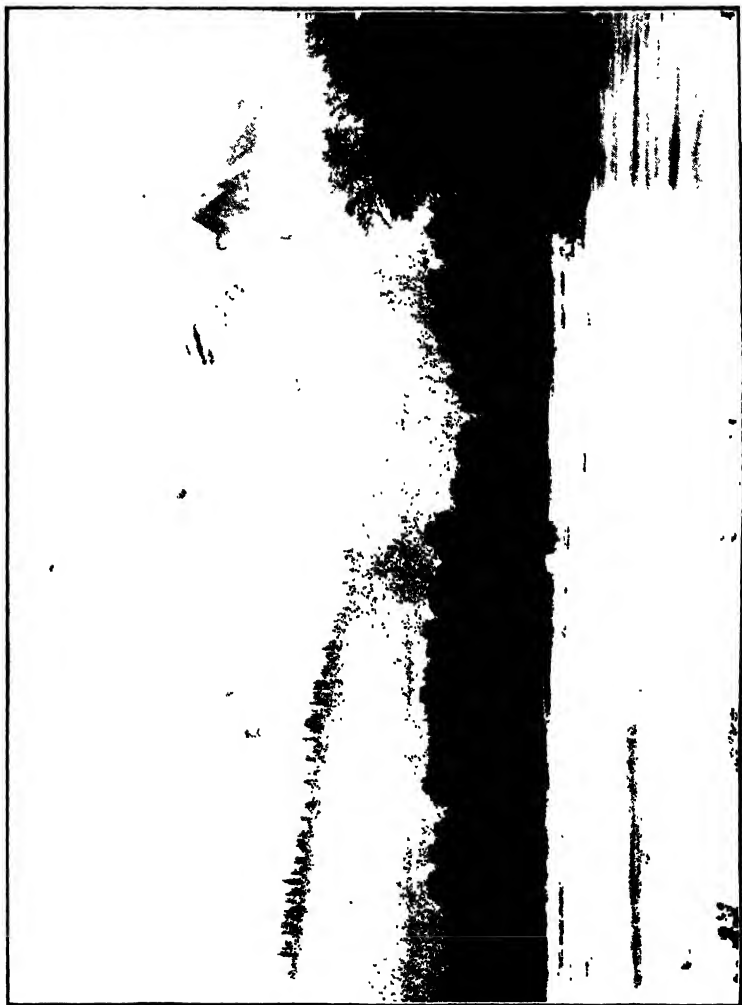
rare object in this country, and even then chiefly occupied in endeavouring to dispel aspersions on his own, is now a familiar one, and in a material sense, for the moment, the most envied of men. This is no mere boom, as many at the

opening of the century regarded it. It is a new epoch, and the whole country has risen on to another level ; not literally perhaps the whole country, for French Canada and the maritime provinces, with the exception of some few districts, have only felt the transformation indirectly as members of a Federation whose aggregate prosperity, revenue, and reputation has enormously increased. It is the agricultural rise of the North-west lifting with it commercially the great province of Ontario, the heart of Canada, that has made and together with British Columbia chiefly comprises, the new Canada.

The principal agencies in producing these momentous effects were two, the one being the exhaustion of the area of fertile wild lands in the United States, the other an active emigration policy inaugurated in Great Britain, as well as in other countries, by the Canadian Government. Through all their long period of depression, however, the North-west provinces had indisputably shown themselves to be capable of producing the largest grain crops and of the best quality in North America, while the salubrity of the climate, in spite of its severe winters, was sufficiently demonstrated by the condition of the two or three hundred thousand souls who were already thinly spread in farms and little towns along the 800 miles of the C.P.R. from Winnipeg to the Rocky Mountains. As regards mountainous British Columbia with its chief port Vancouver, a then inconsiderable town, and various other small centres along the railroad, it became almost symbolical of hopes deferred. In the wheat districts, however, the crops had been so frequently injured by early autumn frosts, just before the grain hardened, as to cause much discouragement to farmers, to damage the reputation of the country abroad, and create a widespread suspicion that with all its fertility Manitoba was too far north for any certainty in farming.

The price of grain, too, remained persistently low in the North-west. It was low, to be sure, everywhere in those days, as indeed it is yet ; but the Western farmer then got little more than half the English price, whereas now, when

the quality of the wheat is appreciated and eagerly sought after and transportation greatly cheapened, he receives

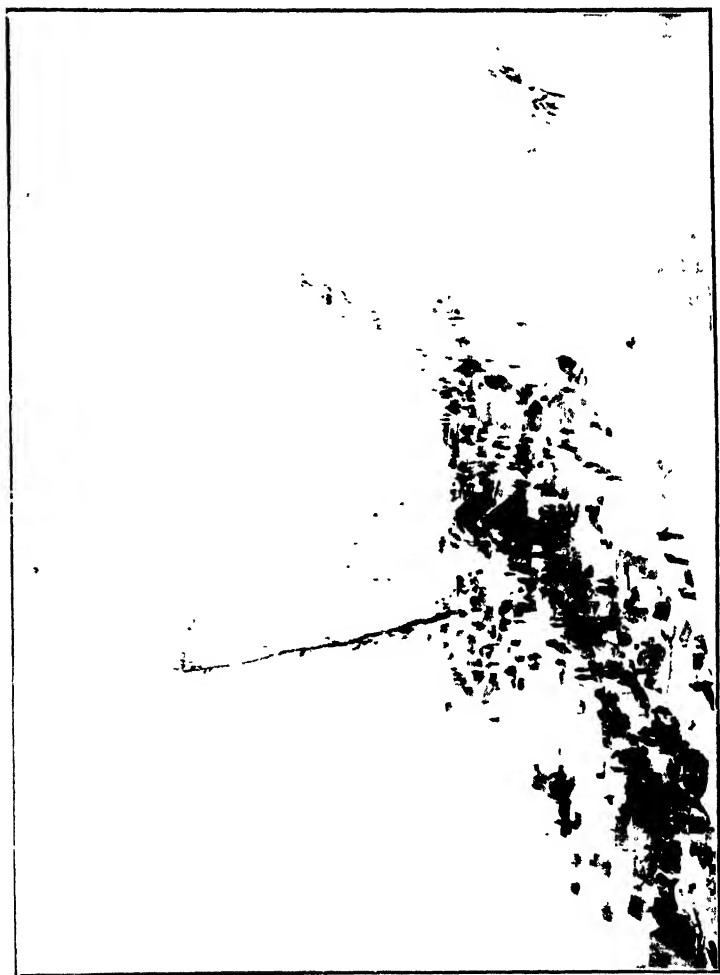


about the same—an immense difference to a country where it can be grown so cheaply. Nor, again, had the North-west, where these conditions in many respects were quite different from Old Canada, been at once

understood. The management of stock, the most suitable varieties of grain, and treatment of prairie-land, had in a measure to be learned by the first generation, even of those seasoned Ontario farmers who were the backbone of the new provinces. The climate, as is generally the case during the taming and occupying of wild countries, began to relent somewhat in its unseasonable vagaries. Summer frosts and destructive hailstorms, which hung like the sword of Damocles over the prairie-farmer, declined in the area visited by them, and have been very nearly reduced to the standard of ordinary risks. The methods of personal protection, too, against the undeniably severe winters became better understood. The earlier settlers, moreover, had been generally men of small means with little spare cash to expend on their dwelling-houses, so that for a long time the severe winters, which in a well-contrived house are comparatively innocuous, smote these poorly protected pioneers of the first generation with a rigour that found an echo all over Canada and Great Britain, and was the sport of the American, who always enjoyed a thrust at Canada. In the later eighties and earlier nineties, a considerable number of those who were able sold out and left the country; while a still greater number envied them, and would have done the same if they could. Immigrants, nevertheless, continued to come in steadily, if sparingly, and there was always an element in the country who firmly believed in it and stuck to it, not merely because they were obliged to, but because they had confidence in its future. It was not perhaps so much an actual disbelief in this that discouraged so many and gave the country a bad name, as its seemingly remote prospect and tardy dawn.

It is often said that you hear of the successes in the colonies and in life generally, but not the failures; but as regards the colonies, it is in actual fact the failures rather than the successes of which, for obvious reasons, most is heard in England. As regards the Canadian North-west, whether in England or even in Old Canada, this was most emphatically the case. For one thing, no fortunes were

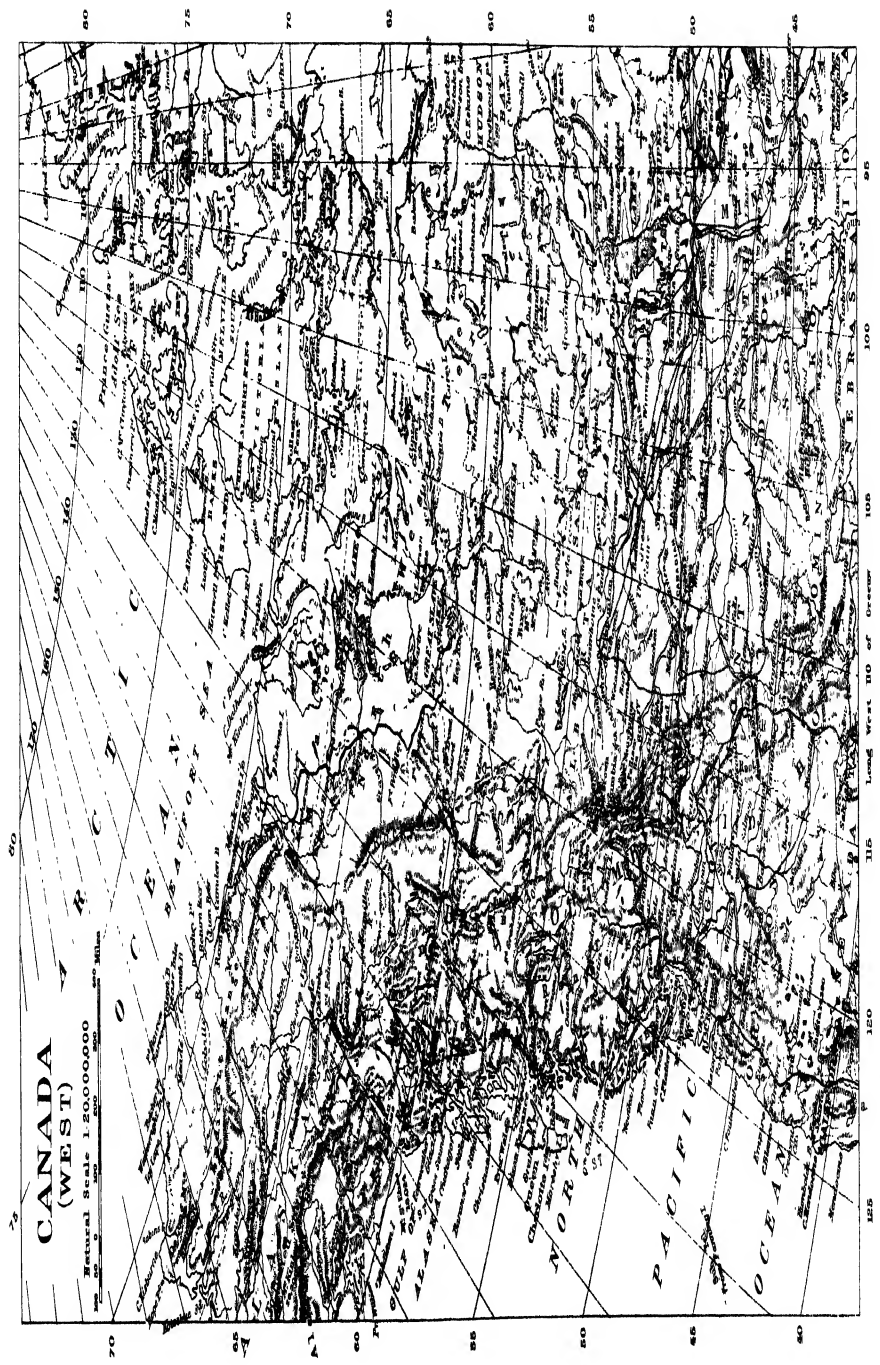
possible under the Canadian system of small farmers, while stock-ranching in the far North-west, the only



individual industry on a liberal scale, had not been very profitable. The successful Manitoban was the yeoman of more or less the Ontario type, the hard practical settler, usually from Ontario or the maritime provinces, who had gone West with but little money and was

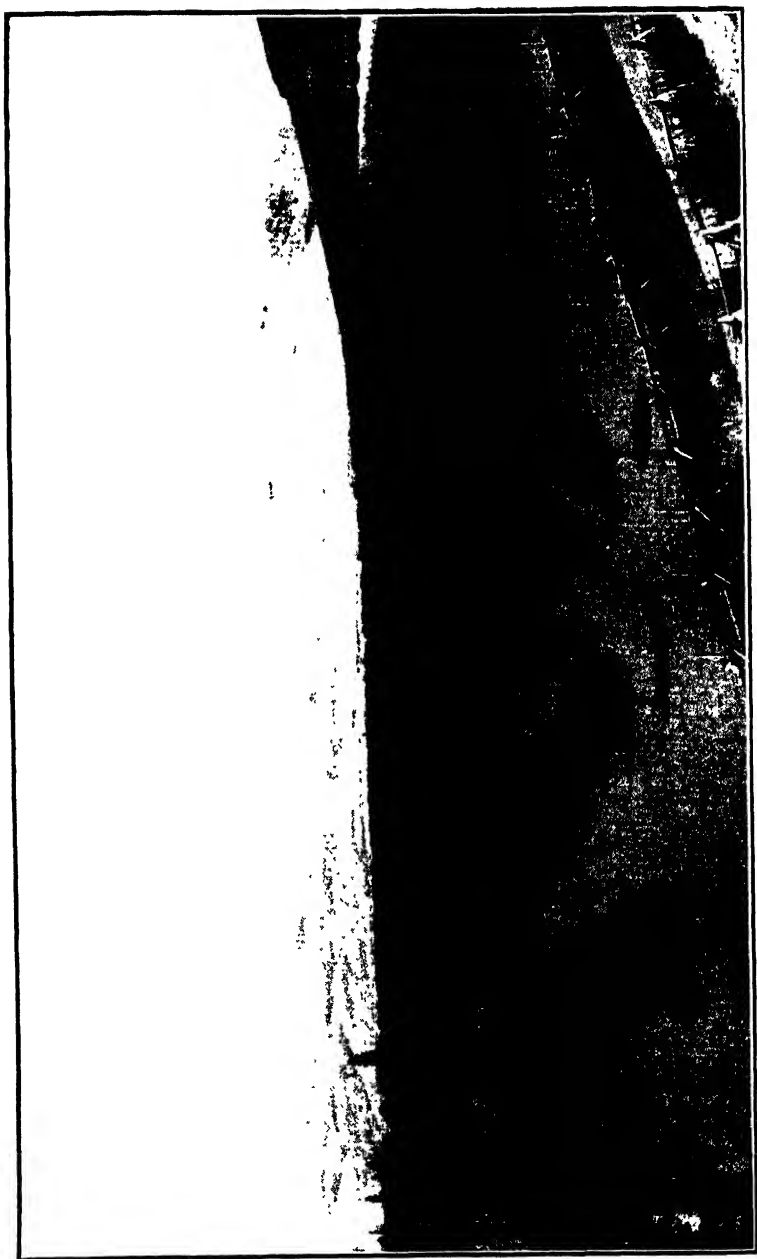
now possessed of an 'improved farm' larger than an Ontario one, probably a half-section (320 acres), or even a whole one, worth from one to three thousand pounds, though by no means readily saleable, with so many vendors and such huge tracts of good wild land going for a trifle. There were thousands of such men, including a good many from the old country, who had worried through the hard times and floated out into modest prosperity, and were with good reason staunch upholders of the country. But these men were never seen in Europe; for they never left their farms. Nobody came back to the old country from the Canadian North-west with money; only a considerable element who had failed, and not always through their own fault, as may be gathered from some of the foregoing facts. There are some new countries that leave certain pleasant memories, even with failure: British Columbia, with its more kindly atmosphere and attractive landscape, or California, or New Zealand. But it must be admitted that the old backwoods, or the later prairies of Canada, with their climatic rigours, though stimulating enough to those who have conquered them successfully, were not calculated to endear to memory the years spent in unsuccessful conflict with them, and the hard words spoken of the North-west were very many and very effective, for there was a great deal of truth in them as things were then. English newspaper correspondents, to be sure, told their readers every recurring autumn of these successful contented yeomen in great detail, and not without some effect. But the newspaper correspondent is apt to be regarded with suspicion as being more or less the guest of interested officials for whose attentions an equivalent is expected, and also as by no means infallible for this particular class of investigation, being scarcely ever a farmer.

It must be admitted that Americans gave the most effective aid to the new movement, and have done more than any outsiders to sustain it, and their action at this time will be a landmark to the future historian of British North America. Hitherto, Canada had been for years steadily drained of a serious proportion of its vigorous youth by the



United States. That country was now to pay back the debt with interest. Hitherto, the idea of an American going to settle in Canada would have been regarded on his side of the line as a joke. To move from a buoyantly progressive country into one that Americans regarded —so far as they knew anything about it, which was not much—as labouring far in their wake beneath the incubus of conservatism and monarchical trammels, would have seemed absurd. Now, however, the Western American farmers realised all in a moment, as it were, that their days of expansion were over, and discovered in Western Canada a hitherto unsuspected outlet. For the last decade of the nineteenth century there were no free grants or very cheap lands worth the attention of intelligent farmers left in the Republic.

The habit of a large class for generations had been to move to the frontier, take up land, improve it, and live on it till advancing civilisation had made it valuable without prospect of any further serious increase. The owner, with by that time probably a family grown up around him, then sold out and moved westward to virgin lands. This was now no longer possible; the farmers of Nebraska, Minnesota, Iowa, and Dakota now occupied improved farms that had become nearly as valuable as they were likely to be; these States had become, like Ontario, an old country with every convenience, in which farming paid reasonably well but afforded no scope for expansion. Its once pioneers were fenced round by high-priced farms like their own. They had sons who wanted elbow-room and to sit on land that multiplied five or ten times in value in half a lifetime, in addition to yielding good annual returns for their labour, as the parental homesteads had already done. There was no scope for another shift of this sort left in the United States. There were dry countries fit only for stock, or, again, the Pacific slope which was densely timbered. This Canadian North-west, however, was the very prairie-land that they were accustomed to, and they soon assured themselves that as a wheat-country it was better than the best they or their fathers had ever tilled.



Like the Americans who followed the United Empire Loyalists into Canada a century before, land is far more important to these people than slight differences of government. They moved in systematically, purchasing in companies



A WINTER SCENE, ALBERTA

large blocks of land cheap and dividing them up. They soon began to arrive in thousands, a large proportion having at their bankers the money derived from the sale of valuable farms, and thus bringing not merely the experience of prairie-farmers but ample capital as well. This influx has now been going on for more than ten years at the rate of 50,000 a year—in 1910 it was 150,000—and the total amount of money alone brought in by these people is estimated at £40,000,000 sterling.

CHAPTER XIII

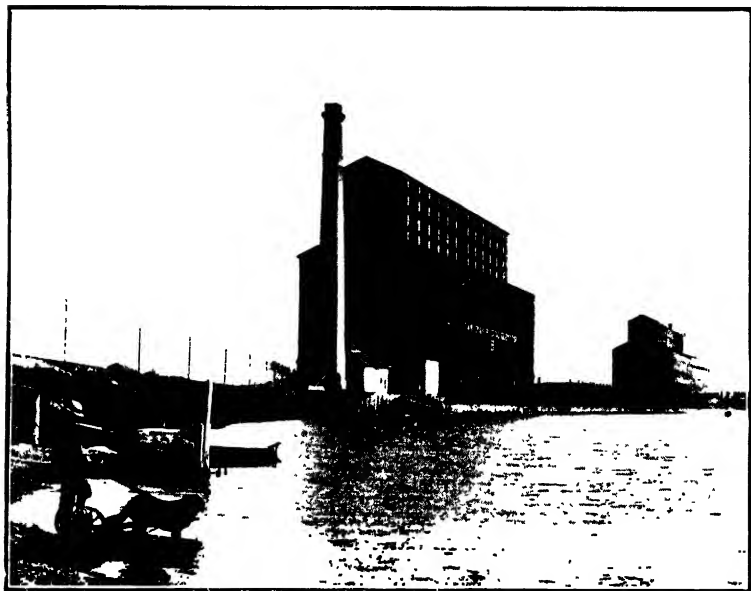
CONCLUSION

IT was not merely the enormous impetus these American farmers, with their ready-made experience, their labour, and their capital, have given to the North-west, but the confidence they showed in it could not do otherwise than silence the last doubts that might linger concerning the country and prove gratifying and stimulating even to the most convinced of Canadian believers. Above all, it gave the emigrating world in Great Britain conclusive and important evidence that this North-west was in truth a land of promise. An active immigration policy had in the meantime been started by the Canadian Government in Great Britain and elsewhere, which before the end of the century had begun to assume figures that had never before been touched, rising steadily from 50,000 per annum to something like four times that number who in the past year or two have crossed the sea. A small fraction of this remains in Ontario or the maritime provinces, but the great bulk settles down on the prairie between Winnipeg and the Rocky Mountains; while a further fraction, chiefly of the more affluent sort, proceeds to British Columbia, which with its mining, its lumbering, its fisheries, and fruit-growing has had its share in the transformation. But while the prairie-country has only occasional tracts unfit for settlement, British Columbia, a wholly mountainous country and for the most part densely timbered, has only regions here and there that invite the agriculturist, and the development of the province proceeds on rather different lines. Winnipeg, well on its way to earn the sobriquet that sanguine men even in the early eighties foretold

for it—namely, the ‘Chicago of the West’—contains 150,000 souls; while Vancouver, the Pacific port of the Canadian Pacific Railway, has with a much shorter life achieved more than half that number. The little towns that formerly languished all along that railroad are proportionately on the move. Instead of the mere strip along the American border-line that was once regarded as constituting the wheat belt, civilisation has spread far to the north, and it is estimated that there are millions of acres suitable for grain not yet even within sight of the plough. Comfortable homesteads, like those of Ontario, with protecting plantations, well fenced and well appointed, with ample live stock, now cover all the older portions of the North-west, an earnest of what over vaster areas will be accomplished in the near future.

It may well be asked. What, amid all this rush of civilisation, has become of the Indians who thirty or forty years ago roamed and hunted these plains at will? It may be remembered that the Indians were never really numerous in North America. The British and Canadian Governments, in admitted contrast to that of the United States, have always treated them with scrupulous fairness and kept their promises, assigning them ample reserves; and, when it is said that there are to-day only 100,000 in the whole Dominion, from Nova Scotia to Vancouver, and that those in the old provinces are practically civilised, it will be seen that the question is not a very serious one. The Six Nations, who in the eighteenth century almost held the balance of power between England and France in North America—and that, too, with under 4000 warriors—are now mainly represented by a community of indifferent farmers on the Grand river, in the heart of Ontario's civilisation. But what, again, it may also be asked, is likely to be the political result of this inrush of American settlers? Is it possible that their sympathies will not tend in the direction of a union with the neighbouring republic whence they came? We are concerned with the past here, not with prophecy; but it may be answered—and is so by all in touch with the movement—that in the first place a certain proportion of the incomers

are Canadians, and the sons of Canadians, who went to the American West when their own country had nothing left to offer them but second-rate uncleared forest. As regards the others everything combines to make them politically, as well as materially, satisfied with their new conditions, which in laws, education, and social habits are



GRAIN ELEVATOR, FORT WILLIAM, ONTARIO

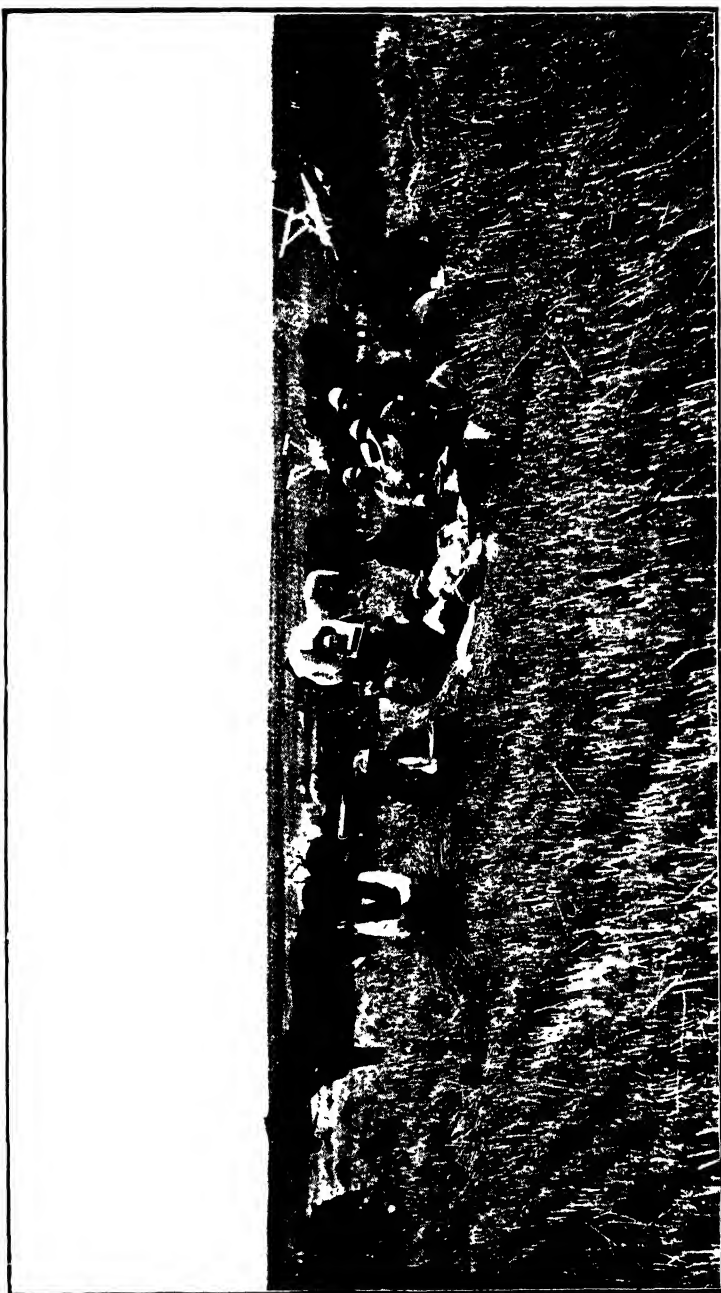
practically those that they have left behind them : with this difference, however, in favour of the change, that the law in the British Dominions is carried out, whereas in the Western States of America life has been held in comparatively light esteem, and the ruffian endured with extraordinary toleration.

It is the glory of British North America through all its provinces—wild and unsettled as well as the oldest—that offences against life and property have been as swiftly punished as in England itself ; whereas in the Old South, as in the New West of the United States, in varying degrees,

the assassin has been scarcely regarded as a criminal at all, and has rarely met with his deserts at the hands of the law. Great Britain and her colonies have always rigorously policed their frontier countries, just as they have insisted on the good treatment of the American Indians: the United States frankly admit having done neither the one nor the other. The pistol-shooting braggart has been at once the hero and the disgrace of the life and literature of the newer West. When the Canadian Government took over their own North-west they at once planted in it a disciplined and efficient force of mounted police—practically, soldiers—and from the very first that huge country between the Red river and the Rocky Mountains has been as safe as Hampshire. When lawless men know that on committing a crime they at once become the object of tireless pursuit by trained and armed men, who will take them dead or alive, and bring them to a court which will punish them to a certainty, crime does not lift its head. Above all, when the homicide, who was accustomed to ruffle it and swagger over the border, knows that he will be hunted down like a quarry by sleuth-hounds at no sparing of time, distance, or expense, and, when caught, will be hung to an absolute certainty, he avoids Canada as a hopeless country, while the native product has not much chance of developing.

The American invaders of the North-west, being of the peaceful and agricultural, not swashbuckling, type, are as gratified as surprised to find life and property protected after a fashion which, though a matter of course to a British subject, seems strange to them. In short, these people are reported on all sides to be making ‘good Canadians.’

The North-west and British Columbia form an admirable complement to one another. The one, a fat level land of wheat and grain, scant of timber and orchard-fruit, and with a severe if healthy climate; the other, heavily forested, mountainous, abounding in clear lakes and rushing rivers, supplying its more populous agricultural neighbours with timber, fruit, fish, and coal. And here the North-west Canadian seeking for a change, temporary or permanent,



to a milder climate, has several varieties of it close at hand. Few large regions in the world are so aptly placed side by side for purposes of all-round mutual commerce. The population of both, particularly that of British Columbia, contains a far larger proportion of people born in Britain than Old Canada, while the large American element in the prairie provinces is another point of difference. Yet further, there are in the latter large communities of Mennonites and Doukabors from Russia, besides Italians and Galicians and Scandinavians, while in British Columbia there is a considerable element of Chinese and Japanese, restricted, however, by legislation. But the English-speaking Britons, Canadians, and Americans form an overwhelming preponderance both there and in the North-west. Scarcity of labour is a permanent drawback in both sections.

Alberta, the most westerly of the prairie provinces, climbs up the Rocky Mountains and enjoys, particularly in its southern half, a more temperate winter climate than the rest of them, and at the same time has a much more precarious rainfall. Its numerous mountain streams and rivers, however, provide great facilities for artificial irrigation, which is practised on a large scale. While stock is everywhere increasing throughout the more distinctly grain-growing sections of the North-west, southern Alberta is essentially a stock country and has been the seat of the great cattle ranches, which are being rapidly curtailed under the growth of population and the subdivision of land.

The interior valleys of British Columbia, where almost alone in that huge, mountainous, densely wooded province, agriculture and pastoral life are possible, have a still shorter, though vastly diverse, rainfall, and a winter climate about midway between the severity of the prairies and the mild, humid atmosphere of the sea-coast. Here, too, from the abundance of lakes and streams, irrigation is easy and widely practised, though more generally with a view to intensive culture, such as that of fruit, than to ordinary tillage farming. This is more particularly so in the case of

fruit-growing, since all the fruits common to the temperate



zone flourish in the province. Apples take the first place as the least perishable, most in demand, and most readily

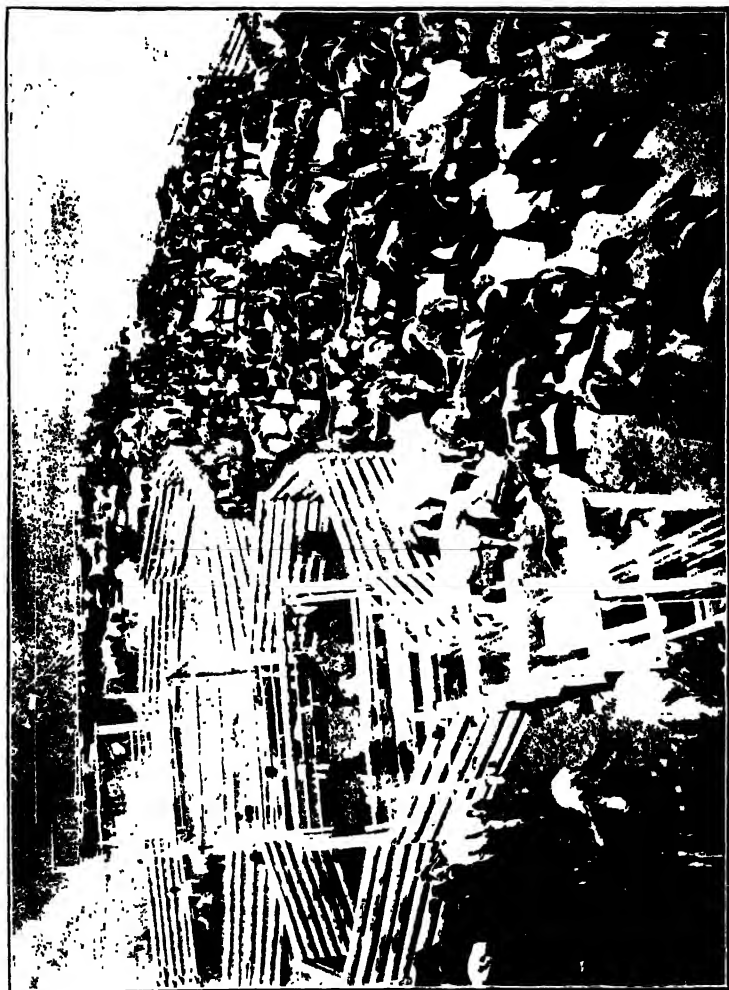
marketed. Moreover the standard fruits do not succeed well in the prairie soil and climate, so the perpetual and increasing demand for one of the necessities of life throughout this vast and growing region looks to British Columbia and Ontario for its supply.

Labour, however, is perhaps more vital to fruit-growing than to any form of cultivation, and scarce though this is in Old Canada it is far scarcer in British Columbia, where there are no passing waves of labour immigration to partially relieve the situation. So with few exceptions this promising industry, which requires, moreover, substantial capital, seems limited for the present to a one-man-power scale and such limited rewards as the unassisted efforts of a hard-working owner can gather from it.

Many of these island valleys and western foothills of the great Rocky Mountain system are natural park land, sweeping pastures, that is to say, sprinkled with clumps of trees, and among these stock-raising is practised with success. The province is full of mineral wealth, the limits of which no man may estimate, seeing that but a small fraction of a country twice as large as France is as yet exploited. But coal, iron, gold, and silver and other minerals have been worked this long time upon a large scale, mainly among the Rocky and Selkirk mountain ranges in the extreme south of the province, while the notorious gold-fields of the Klondike occupy its northern extremity and the borders of Alaska. Lumbering in a country densely clad with forest timber, much of it of great size and very valuable, is inevitably a leading industry, and here again the prairie provinces alone present a perpetual and expanding market. But the resources of modern Canada, beyond such bare allusion as is absolutely necessary, form no part of the scheme of narrative embodied in this little book, the limits of which are sufficiently taxed by the scope of its more legitimate aims.

And how, it may be asked, has Ontario benefited by all this, since we left that pivot province of the Dominion marking time—as new countries count such things—since

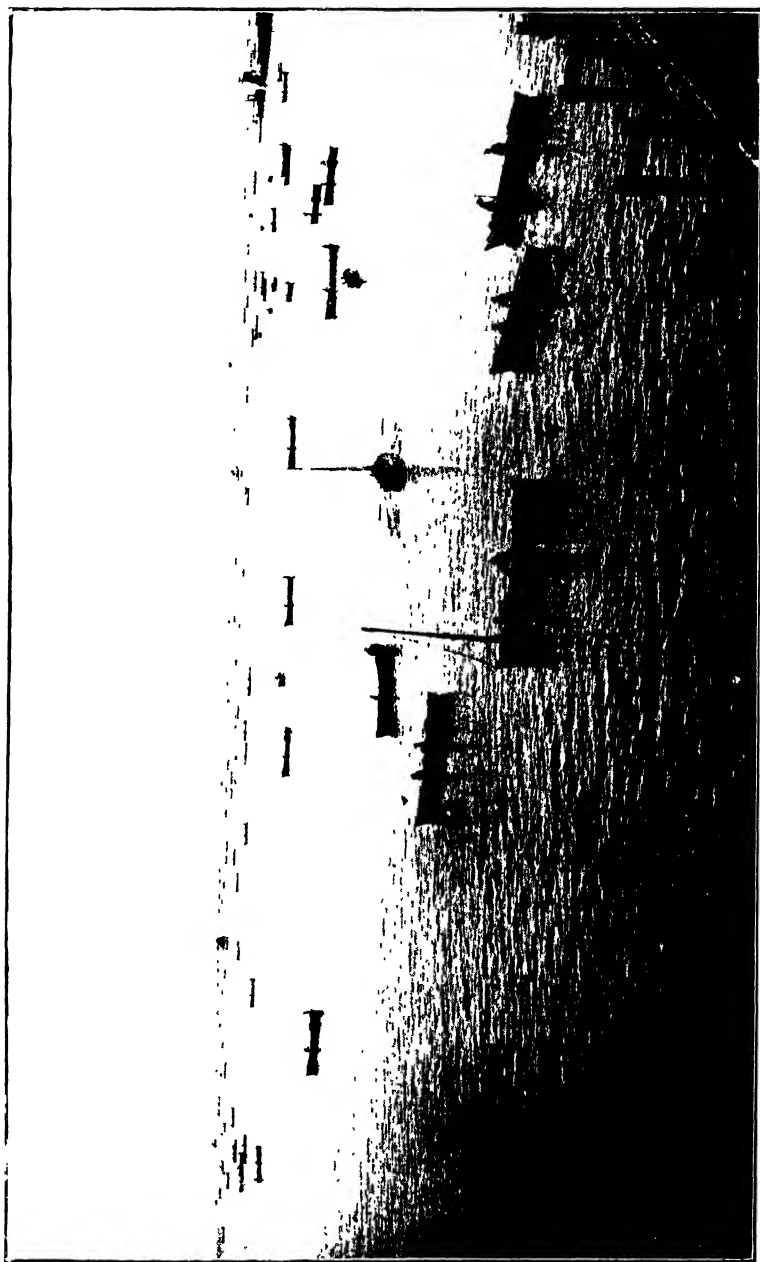
completing her civilisation, in an agricultural sense, nearly a quarter of a century before the great forward movement?



It may be remembered that in 1878 Sir John Macdonald, despairing of American concessions or reciprocity in trade matters, brought in a high tariff known as the National Policy. Threaded by clear rivers that run with rapidity, considering that nowhere in its civilised parts is

the province more hilly than Devonshire, and usually with the surface of Kent, Ontario is as adapted to manufacturing as to farming. Hitherto, the mills to be found in most of the little towns of the province had mainly confined themselves to grinding grain and sawing logs. Now, however, the foundations of a manufacturing industry were laid which even before the fuller development of the North-west had pushed some of its wares on to the English markets; and later on when called upon to supply this new and growing population—all for the present engrossed in agriculture—the cup of its success was full.

Little towns that thirty or forty years ago were sleepy entrepôts for exchanging merchandise for farm produce, with some branch banks, are now swarming with the operatives of many factories. The snug but modest residences in their outskirts, that in the old days harboured half-pay British officers and members of the old Upper Canada Loyalist families, bankers or lawyers— all still cherishing caste exclusiveness and 'Family Compact' traditions—have given way to handsome villas owned by a newly enriched generation, or by wealthy Americans, as their summer abode. Such is the change that has come over Ontario, assisted in no small degree by the influx of capital and energy from the United States. The farmers too, after years of depression in the old ruck of wheat and barley, turned to dairy-farming, fruit-growing, cheese-making, pedigree stock, and altogether new and more intensive methods, encouraged no little by the rise of industrial populations in their midst as well as by a great export trade to Europe. Co-operation, too, has been widely instituted. The pulse of the great North-west beats throughout Ontario with its rapidly growing population, its diversified interests, its accumulating capital. Even its picturesque French neighbour of Quebec, with all its different views of what makes life worth living, has caught in places something of the movement. In the vast back country of Ontario, comparatively valueless for agriculture, rich beds of mineral wealth—such as iron, silver, and manganese—



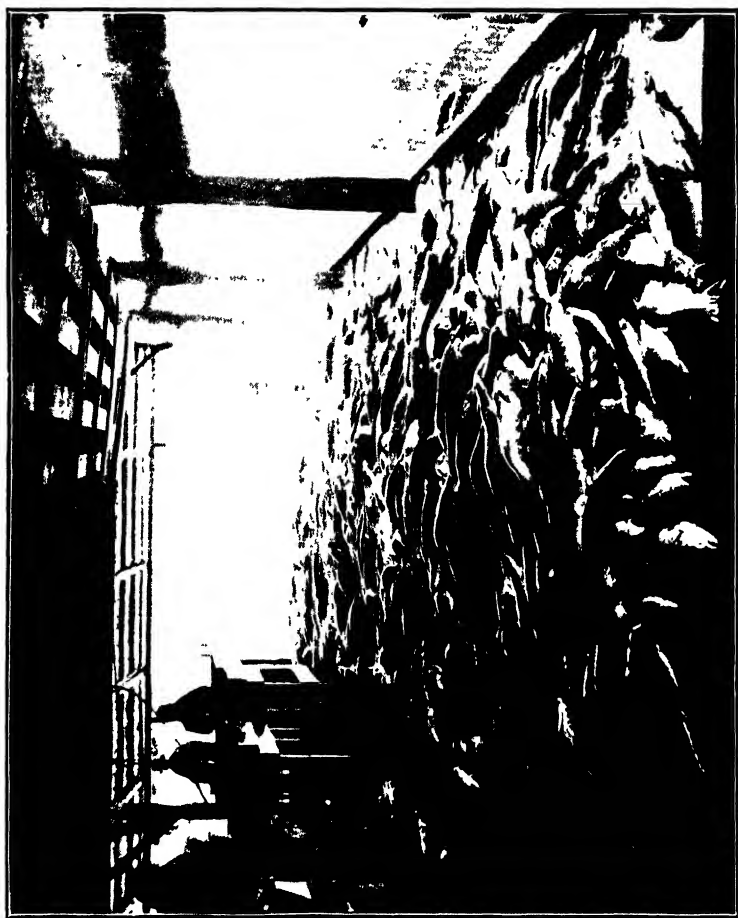
have been opened and worked to the great enrichment of the country.

Montreal, though geographically within the boundaries of Quebec, is not strictly of it, but rather the commercial capital, and the finest and largest city in Canada. The maritime provinces, though to nothing like the same extent as Ontario, for obvious reasons have shared no little in the advance of the Dominion. This is not a commercial and industrial survey of Canada, and I have already said perhaps too much on the subject—enough to tempt an inconsiderate critic to sum up my omissions, which are of necessity legion. But as regards these seaboard provinces the coal and iron industries of Cape Breton have assumed large dimensions, and the apple industry of Nova Scotia has become a world fact, if general farming there goes somewhat slowly. Nor must the fact be overlooked that both Nova Scotia and the province of Quebec are becoming yearly more popular resorts for thousands of tourists and summer residents from the United States.

St. John, New Brunswick, has made immense strides as an open winter port; while Halifax, though enjoying this advantage, is farther from Canada and alone, of what may be called the historic cities of the Dominion, seems by comparison to be thrown back on its past and its importance as an Imperial naval station for its prestige. The discovery of gold in the far north-west territories of the Klondike in the last year of the nineteenth century was an asset to Canadian prosperity and a notable incident in its current history. It provided, however, the most recent of those many boundary disputes which have been referred to and settled by arbitration. As the Americans in Alaska shared the gold-field, a hitherto unregarded slice of territory, scarcely worth delimiting, assumed a very different value in the eyes of both parties to the dispute.

To anyone in touch with the prodigious recent developments in British North America, politics and statecraft seem almost to sink into a second place. With rare exceptions men of ability do not concern themselves with

politics, regarding them as not worthy of their talents. Political life, as a rule, is the career of the mediocre man, many of whom take it up as a profession for the opportunities



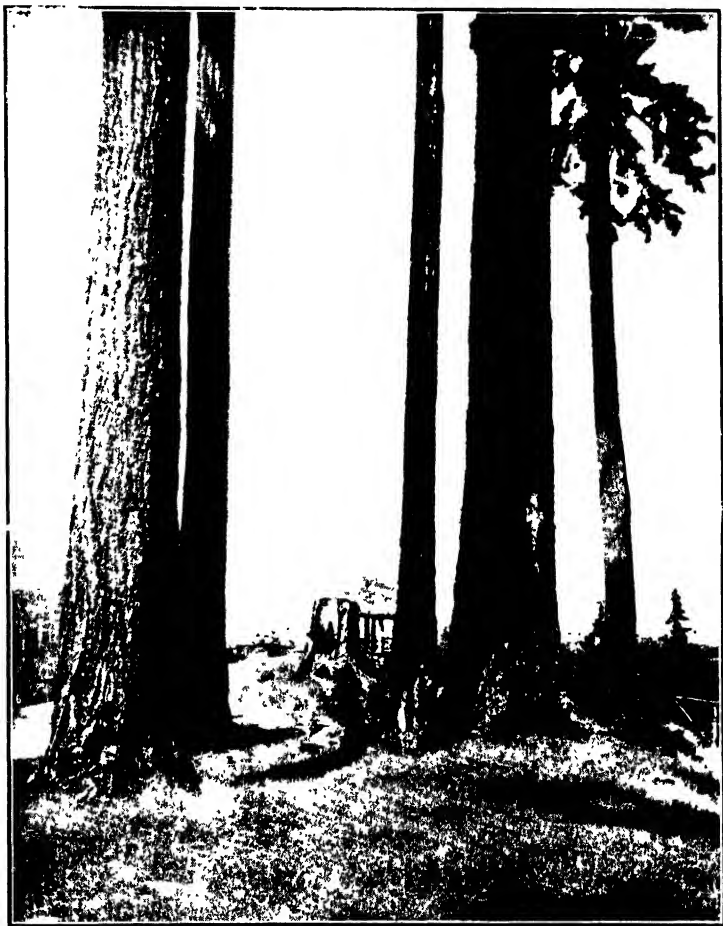
it affords of direct and indirect material profit. Save in the highest places, a seat in the House of Commons at Ottawa carries scarcely any of the distinction conferred by a seat in the British Parliament even now. And this applies to all our colonies. A leading banker or manufacturer or lawyer in big practice never dreams of entering Parliament,

it would benefit him nothing. The Senators or Upper House, nominated for life, carry, as such, some dignity, and are otherwise often men of weight; but beneath Cabinet rank, at any rate, the ordinary politician outside politics—which are not a leading interest of social life as in Great Britain—has no status as such. There is little international significance in the politics of even the greatest colony, but an occasional commercial treaty; nothing whatever of what is called ‘High Politics,’ where intricate relations and mutual responsibilities in every quarter of the world are shared with other Great Powers, to say nothing of the infinitely greater domestic problems afforded by the teeming population of an ancient country. This is not to say that the administration of a country like Canada does not require ability and experience, but it is on a domestic and mainly commercial plane. And such honour as attaches, and rightly attaches, to it, belongs rather to the few leaders, while the rank and file remain comparatively obscure, though often deriving in a small way no little material benefit from the pursuit of politics. For there is unfortunately a certain amount of corruption both in federal and provincial politics in the Dominion. Nobody in Canada even pretends the contrary, unless, may be, for the benefit of an English tourist or correspondent. In a large new country with a thin population for its area, where the active leaders of industrial and social life do not as a class concern themselves with politics, this seems inevitable. The opportunities are considerable, from the innumerable commercial undertakings that in a progressive country have to come to Parliament for powers; and when needy men, uncontrolled by any tradition and unwatched by any effective public opinion, have the power of hindering or forwarding the schemes of the active or wealthy by their action or their vote, the result is only too probable. This is merely one form in which Canadian politics are tainted. It is not held as a matter of contention but as a matter of ordinary knowledge in the Dominion, that this ‘fly in the ointment’ is only too prevalent and by no means always confined to the rank and file. Exposures occur from time to time and such public opinion as has

leisure is aroused. But public opinion, though well-meaning, is slack, not so much from indifference as from men's preoccupation with their individual enterprises, which seem of more importance, for in spite of this blemish it cannot be denied that the government of the country is effectively carried on.

One great change has come over Canada in the last thirty years or so. The writer can easily remember when there was a considerable party passively in favour of annexation to the United States, just as in Great Britain there was a large party which was indifferent, or worse, to the retention of our colonies. To-day there is not in all Canada even an insignificant group who would harbour such a sentiment for a moment, while in the Mother Country no responsible party or politician would venture to speak publicly of our oversea dominions as an incubus or a hindrance, or advise them openly, as was constantly done by prominent men in former days, to set up for themselves. In a country with the military traditions of Canada, the very child indeed of wars both in her French origin and her British re-creation, it would be strange if the military spirit were not still buoyant. The South African war gave the Mother Country ample and most welcome proof of its vitality, while a hundred and twenty regiments of militia, horse, foot and artillery, besides a small regular force, are filled and maintained with zeal, and fed in part by a military college at Kingston. The Dominion is now starting a navy of her own, which there should be little difficulty in manning from the hardy seafaring population of the maritime provinces. The question of armaments and the share which the Dominion is beginning to take in assisting the Mother Country in the protection of the Empire is one of the many that, being still as it were under consideration, does not belong to our story; nor do the great questions of imperial trade and tariff, upon which, as regarding the future of the empire, men differ so vitally. All these things are in the future and are matters of constant discussion in current journalism. This book is mainly concerned with things that are not in the papers, that are past and

done with, save that within them lie the seeds of those problems and situations which to-day occupy the minds of many and interest far more who know or care little about



IN STANLEY PARK, VANCOUVER

the past. Whatever the future may have in store, it is quite certain, humanly speaking, that the Dominion of Canada, with its present population of seven to eight millions, will increase at a greater rate than hitherto, for

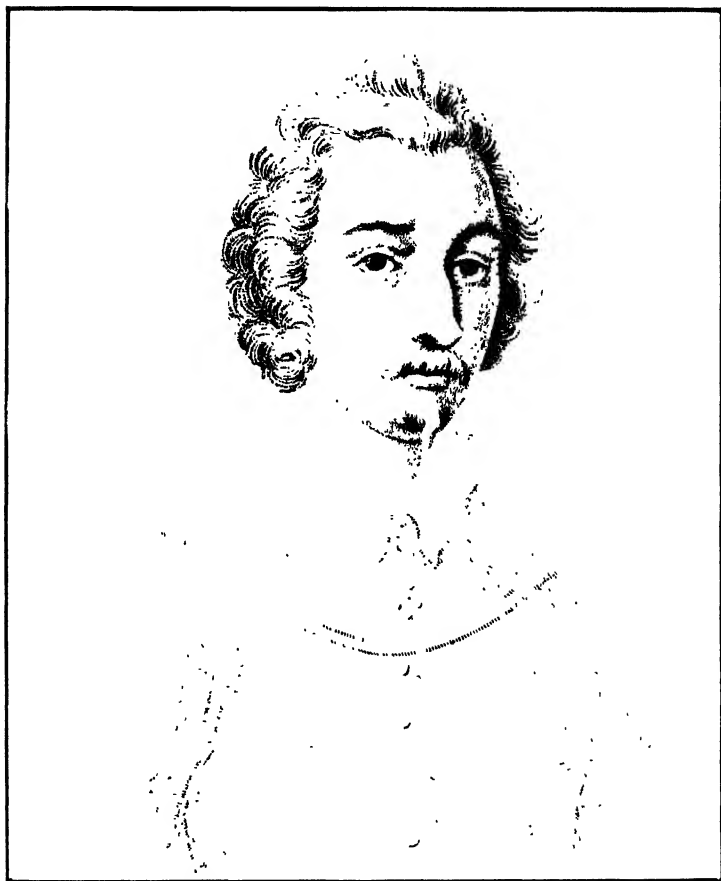
the simple reason that the vacant space profitable for man's occupation is still enormous, and as the new provinces fill they accelerate the pace of the old ones, who flourish so greatly by their commercial requirements. In 1898 the Canadian Government made a significant move in granting a reduction of one-third in the duties on all goods imported into Canada from Great Britain. No *quid pro quo* was asked for, but it would be idle to deny that some form of preference in the near future was generally hoped for throughout the Dominion. As these sheets go to press a Reciprocity Treaty, admitting grain and other raw material free of duty into the United States, has been provisionally entered into with that country, which has considerably altered the situation.

WEST INDIES

CHAPTER I

OUR West Indian colonies lying in the tropics offer, both in their physical characteristics and in their story, a most interesting and picturesque contrast to our continental colonies in North America. The latter, save for three important wars, two of which mainly concerned Canada and were waged either in her territory or on its wild borderland, led humdrum peaceful lives, unmolested and scarcely even threatened by alien foes. The Indian border wars which occasionally troubled most of the North American colonies only affected their frontier settlers, and, though formidable enough sometimes to a trifling fraction of their people, the loss and suffering entailed on this or that province as a whole was as nothing compared with the dramatic upheavals that marked the story from earliest times to the nineteenth century of practically all the West Indian islands. Canada alone, both under France and England, can show something of the dramatic past that illuminates the story of the Antilles. New England, irrespective of the three above-mentioned wars—the Seven Years' War with France and those of the Revolution and of 1812 respectively—had, to be sure, a few brief bouts with the French in Canada. But the people of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston, speaking generally, lived as secure from enemies as those of Bristol or Plymouth, while the inland folk had acquired such a smug, complacent habit of indifference to all the world's serious alarms, that as we have seen they could scarcely be shaken out of it even by the French peril of 1754-1761. Moreover, they dwelt for the most part

in regions no more liable to serious climatic disasters than Great Britain herself. The financial position of Massachusetts, Virginia, or even South Carolina, the nearest



LORD WILLOUGHBY OF PARHAM

to the tropics, though once disturbed in recent times, could not be staggered by earthquake, hurricane, or flood. The slave population of all save the last named was numerically much inferior to the white, and dangers of a servile insurrection in North Carolina, Virginia, or Maryland proportionately remote. The climate, too,

of the continental colonies was favourable to the European, whose general health and prospect of longevity, save in one or two regions, was equal to that of his kinsman in Yorkshire or Hampshire.

How utterly different was the life of a West Indian colonist, planter or merchant ! From the very beginning until recent times one might almost say that he took both his life and fortune in his hand. He made far more money than his continental fellow-subjects, but war, pestilence, earthquake and hurricane held their poised sword continually above his head, and no man knew where or when it might next descend. Ruthless attacks by France or Spain, or by French and Spanish or Caribbean neighbours, servile insurrections, earthquakes, tornadoes and yellow fever, made the life of a British West Indian planter utterly different from that of even his fellow slave-owner in Virginia, and as remote as the poles from that of the New Englander, though all these colonies had contributed freely to the British element which occupied the islands. These last varied immensely in size as they did in importance not always, however, in proportion to their respective areas. But they are all tropical and produce the tropical commodities, and being unsuited to white labour became quite early the home of a large servile population, owned and directed by a small minority of white people.

The greatest epoch, and from a material point of view a rather melancholy one, of all West Indian history, is not one of battle, pestilence or earthquake, but that beneficent action of the British Government, which in the year 1834 put an end to slavery. What neither the visitations of God nor the cannon of enemies had been able to do more than temporarily check, the British Government by a stroke of the pen destroyed, and this was no less than the prosperity and the significance of our West Indian islands. Since that day they have steadily shrivelled as wealth producers, and their relative decline in importance has been intensified by the enormous development of our

great oversea dominions such as Canada and Australasia. The West Indies have been utterly overshadowed from outside, as they have been more than half ruined by the legislation, and that too in more than one direction, of the Mother Country. It requires a great effort nowadays to imagine what they meant to us just before the American Revolutionary war. For these little islands, with their great sugar crops, paid English manufacturers more money in those days than all the great North American colonies put together. Very few individuals, moreover, of the latter were personally known in England. The one or two North Americans who figured in London social circles before 1775 have been so repeatedly presented to us by American writers as to prove, if any proof were needed, what strangers they were. Thackeray's 'The Virginians,' in this particular, is a faithful picture of the novelty of the enterprise. The Anglo-West Indian, on the other hand, was a familiar figure, and, like the Anglo-East Indian he was a Nabob. He and his had no little influence in Parliament. He bought English estates, and his daughters were constantly as heiresses conspicuous in the marriage market. He owned pocket boroughs, sat in Parliament and controlled, in those days of political corruption, a considerable following in the House. The continental colonies maintained no relationships whatever of this kind with the Mother Country. Indeed they possessed scarcely any people with the means to play such a part. Collectively they were extremely well-to-do, individually fortunes were very moderate. Some of the great Jamaica sugar planters in the eighteenth century had incomes of £20,000 a year and owned four or five thousand slaves, while a fourth of that income and labour supply was quite common, whereas a tenth of it would have constituted a rich man in Virginia. And all this gradually crumbled away during the reign of Queen Victoria. The mighty have fallen absolutely, and their places are utterly vacant. There is scarcely a trace, but some tumble-down fragments of old mansions here and there, of the West Indies that Captain Marryat

and half a dozen generations of our Georgian forbears knew. West Indian property owned and inherited by scores of families long domiciled in England and Scotland is a word of traditional ill-omen, and as a practical asset was long years ago, in innumerable cases, assigned to the scrap-heap. There are planters and plantations still in Jamaica and Barbadoes, but the past



IN KINGSTON HARBOUR, JAMAICA

is completely broken with, and the island archipelago is the Cinderella, instead as of old the *Cræsus*, of our colonial empire. Whatever may be the modest measure of present or future success, it is of necessity a small undistinguished path among their gigantic sister colonies that lies before them. For half a century their names, which were synonymous in Georgian England with all such possibilities of elegance and high living as could well obtain in a colony, became almost a byword for depression, disappointment, and decline.

The geography of our West Indian possessions is

undeniably distracting to anyone whose attention is seriously called to them for the first time. It is not only that they are scattered in groups or singly over that whole Caribbean Sea which lies between the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic, but intermingled with them are islands belonging to other nations. Furthermore, there are two blocks of mainland, namely British Honduras in Central America and British Guiana in South America, included in the West Indian group. These two continental colonies stand at either extremity of the long, arc-shaped, straggling chain of West Indian islands, British and foreign, which for over 1500 miles shut in the Caribbean Sea from the Atlantic. North of this arc, stretching nearly to the coast of Florida, are the Bahamas, a string of small coral islands whose total population, mostly negroes, is under 50,000. As a centre of planting and wealth they have been of relatively slight importance, trading in various miscellaneous products with the United States. They are interesting, however, as the land first sighted by Columbus on his memorable voyage of discovery to the New World. To supplement the map by any written detail of the relative situation of the islands to one another and the outer world would be to trench on a space already sufficiently narrow for the intricacies of a complex subject. In the wide, wandering archipelago you have in the first instance to pick out the islands that are painted red from those that wear the colours of France, Spain and Denmark, or proclaim their independence, like Hayti and Cuba; and the fact that more than half of these have worn other colours at various times, and been compelled by force of arms to change their allegiance over and over again in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, makes a pretty imbroglgio for the inquiring soul who, without the stimulus of examination papers, aspires to gain merely a general working knowledge of what the West Indies have meant to us. It will be my business here to try and help the reader to some such appreciation without overtaxing his memory, obscuring the main points, and probably dissipating his interest in

the subject by grappling in too great detail with this fragmentary and picturesque portion of the empire.

The West Indian islands were well known to the Spaniards, and even to other navigators, by the close of the fifteenth century. Throughout the sixteenth century, still claimed by Spain, they became harbours of refuge, or objects of passing interest for all the hardy sea captains and traders of Spain, England, France, Holland, and Portugal. Despising small islands, with half a continent beyond at her disposal, Spain occupied Jamaica almost alone of all the present British islands. But no one in that century ventured to colonise an island in the Spanish seas, even though Spain herself held it lightly. It was in the early part of the next, when her overwhelming preponderance was failing beneath the repeated blows of English, French, and Dutch, that her grasp on the unoccupied islands of that archipelago, which she termed the Antilles, relaxed and practically threw them open to competition between the three nations, who, whatever their momentary relations to one another, were united in their hatred of the Spaniard.

In Hispaniola (afterwards Hayti) and Jamaica, however, as in Cuba, the Spaniards had settled themselves, and their traditional methods were, so far as possible, to extirpate the natives or carry them off as slaves to the mainland. The criminal element, too, was large among the Spanish colonists. Unlike the products of the English prisons of a rather later day, criminals as they very often were in a merely technical sense, the Spanish convicts were malefactors of the baser type and were, moreover, admitted to freedom and equal rights. This did not tend to modify the remorseless cruelty with which their nation exploited its new dominions and their hapless natives, nor to leave among the survivors much inclination to accept such olive branches as the French or English might afterwards hold out. The islands, then, in the early seventeenth century were thrown into the melting-pot to be scrambled for by the nations; the Spaniards by no means standing out of the contest, but with their great continental possessions and their weakening

grasp on the western ocean, taking part with less vigour than the newer colonising nations, to whom every acquired island meant more, and would be made more of when acquired.

Among the fifteen islands that have any area and population worthy of notice, and the two adjoining pro-



NEW PUBLIC BUILDINGS, KINGSTON, JAMAICA

vinces on the mainland, Jamaica and Barbadoes stand out absolutely by themselves, not merely because all the rest are more or less replicas of one or the other but because they have been by far the most important, populous, and productive. All the British West Indian islands together, it may be noted, could have been dropped into one of the smaller North American colonies, though not for a moment must this be thought of as any indication of their relative importance. Jamaica, lying far back near to Cuba, in the Caribbean Sea, was the largest of our islands, being about half the size of Ireland. Barbadoes, though with

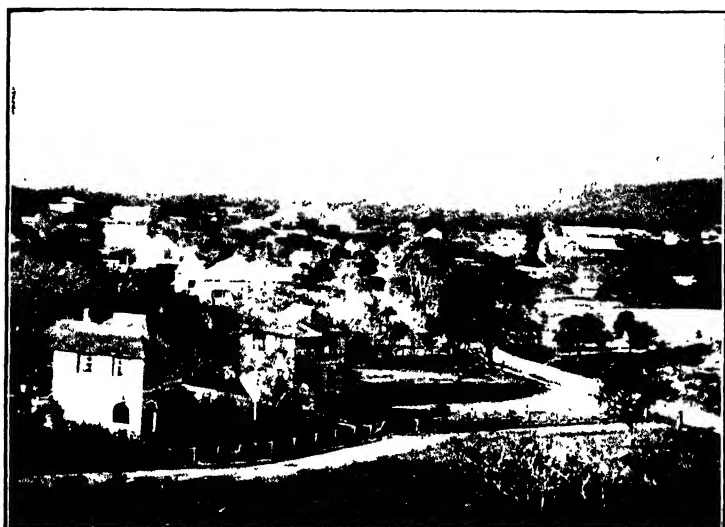
scarcely the area of the Isle of Wight—a common and useful standard of comparison, it may be here mentioned, for West Indian islands—was the next in importance, through its density of population and great productive power. Barbadoes was settled in 1624, and ever afterwards held and occupied by British people. Like so many colonies, it was originally proprietary—granted, that is to say, by the king to a nobleman, in this case the Earl of Carlisle. Such grantees, whether semi-philanthropists like William Penn or Lord Baltimore of Maryland, or merely profit seekers, treated these infant colonies practically as their own estates, so far as was compatible with attracting and retaining settlers. Their powers from the Crown invested them with more than a viceregal position, so far as an occasional resident acting at other times by deputy could exercise it.

But when you invite free Englishmen to cross the seas and tame the wilderness, even though you hold the fee simple of it, which is worthless without their residence and industry, the position is very different from that of an English landlord. Such revenues from customs or land grants as it was politic for a proprietor to seek, were not very substantial and sometimes could not be collected. Still, there was always some income attaching to these little principalities, which were treated as subjects of bequest or sale like other property.

But colonial feeling was always restive, after the first generation, under what it felt to be an anomaly, and the lord's revenue rarely kept anything like pace with the prosperity of his remote and often ill-understood domain. Friction was indeed a certainty. Outlay may often have exceeded income. At any rate the heirs were usually glad enough sooner or later to take a moderate sum or its equivalent from the Crown for their troublesome palatinate, though one or two royal grants died much harder and later and with greater profit to remote descendants, as we shall see.

Jamaica was among the islands discovered and first trodden by Columbus. It was granted him as a personal

possession and remained, though not without dispute, to his heirs for two or three generations. The 150 years of Spanish ownership, prior to the British capture by Cromwell's troops in 1655, is rather cloudy. But being close to Hispaniola (Havti), the earlier centre of Spanish-American enterprise, it became in a lesser degree a station for Spaniards and a source of supply for their enterprises generally, con-



MOUNTAINS

taining when it fell into our hands about 3000 settlers, white and black, largely occupied in farming. Besides Barbadoes we had possessed for the last twenty to thirty years the smaller islands of Antigua, St. Kitts, Nevis, and Montserrat, on which communities were already busy with gangs of African slaves planting cocoa, indigo, sugar, and spices, and sheltering and provisioning buccaneers of all nations who made common cause against the Spaniard.

When Cromwell decided to attack Spain his West Indian expeditionary force by no means consisted of his redoubtable Ironsides, but of a miscellaneous collection of disbanded soldiers of both parties helped by volunteers from

Barbadoes and St. Kitts an indifferent force who were severely handled in their attempt on Hispaniola, and succeeded at Jamaica rather by good luck than by good management. The conquest was, nevertheless, an accomplished fact, and after some unsuccessful efforts of Spanish forces to recover it, the island was formally recognised as British territory. The natives had been exterminated by the Spaniards, while a certain number of the latter who refused the British terms retired to the mountains which form such a conspicuous feature of Jamaica, as of most West Indian islands, with their negro slaves, and for over a century, under the name of Maroons, were the scourge of the settlers. Disbanded European soldiers are proverbially indifferent colonists, and the proceedings of these British conquerors of Jamaica proved no exception to the rule. But Cromwell was a man of action, and prompt action in all that he put his hand to. Though no traveller, his shrewd sense seemed to grasp the needs of distant colonies. He set on foot active emigration agencies, not only in the British islands but even in the North American provinces. His methods, to be sure, were sweeping, for his aim was quantity in any case and as much quality as might be.

With a truly prescient eye, not always vouchsafed to English statesmen concerned with this difficult business, he seems to have trusted rather to the second generation, the colonial-born children of the heterogeneous crowd he pitchforked out of the Mother Country into the tropics. For he made laws to safeguard the liberty of these children, and by liberality in taxation did all he could to further the prosperity of the island. But he was much too strong a man to be the slave of theories and invite chaos by premature concessions of popular government. Jamaica was for some time in a disturbed condition. The Maroons in their mountain fastnesses were a constant danger. The British military settlers required a firm hand, while the Catholic Irish prisoners, the unfortunate product of his Irish wars, shipped in batches to the West Indies, were not in a mood to exercise the franchise in a manner conducive

to the peace and loyalty of a British colony. Indeed, these drafts may be debited to the wrong side of Cromwell's account in the matter of statesmanship. For in all the West Indian troubles of the next century they constituted a hostile element to be always reckoned with when the French or Spaniard appeared upon the scene. Idlers and vagabonds, too, in all parts of England and Scotland went in daily dread of being seized by the local authorities under Cromwell's orders and shipped to Jamaica, where, for the most part as white slaves, they had to perform the work that only negroes in that climate can accomplish with impunity. Criminals from the gaols, as well as political offenders of all kinds, were shipped out to join the motley throng, among whom the death-rate was, of course, prodigious. A great deal of outrage and cruelty, far beyond what Cromwell intended, was perpetrated by individuals exploiting the emigration movement under loose authority at the expense of objects of their personal dislike or vengeance. Not a district in England but has its record of youths kidnapped or spirited away to semi-slavery in the West Indies. For this kind of thing was not peculiar to Cromwell's rule, but lasted more or less for half a century after his death. From a Wiltshire parsonage, to quote a typical instance, when the rector and his family were summarily ejected into the snow of a winter night, during the Cromwellian period, for their Anglican sympathies, the two sons are laconically recorded as being 'shipped as slaves to Jamaica.' As late as Queen Anne's reign a well-known Northumbrian squire missed his groom at a horse fair, to discover him being marched off by a neighbour of good family but bad repute. The intended victim had been frightened into compliance by the sight of a forged Crown warrant. The ruffian defied the man's master, and tried to bluff him by the same means. The infuriated squire, however, drew his sword, and a fight ensued altogether to his advantage; but, with his blade at the throat of his vanquished foe, he gave him his life on certain stringent conditions, though the fact transpired that several young

men of the neighbourhood had been spirited away to slavery in Jamaica under the rascal's fraudulent warrants.



VILLAGE SCENE, JAMAICA

These fragments of English parochial history are instructive as to the methods which helped to swell emigration to the West Indies. All the Scottish prisoners taken by

Cromwell at the battle of Worcester who survived his prison treatment, to the number of some thousands, were shipped out to the islands. The later revolutions of Monmouth and of the Jacobites in 1715 each furnished more shiploads of unfortunates. But to deal solely, for the moment, with the planting of Jamaica, great numbers of more promising settlers than these went there spontaneously, with skill, capital, and often with gangs of negroes. Barbadoes, Nevis, and St. Kitts sent thus early two or three thousand of their overplus, while from many of the North American colonies went persons at odds with the climate or with the local opinions of their first selection.

Thus from so many diverse sources was Jamaica furnished in a few years with a considerable population. It was blessed throughout this critical period with a singularly wise Governor--General D'Oyley and soon after Charles II came to the throne was invested with the beginnings of representative government. This consisted of a Governor, a nominated Council, and an elected Assembly. The latter showed very early a determination to maintain its rights against what it regarded as attempts upon its liberties by the British Parliament. Friction and disputes were constant for over sixty years. Parliament aspired to make laws for Jamaica which the islanders steadily repudiated till the Jamaicans, in 1680, got their own way as to legislation, subject to the approval of the Crown, which, for one reason or another, was generally withheld, and the dispute was not finally settled till 1728. Twenty years after the Conquest there were 8000 white settlers and 10,000 negro slaves. Thenceforward the latter increased at a far greater pace, while sugar in time almost replaced the earlier industries of cocoa, tobacco, and indigo. It was of the best quality, and the active slave trade with the opposite coast of Africa poured negroes into the island at a great rate. The buccaneers, too, swarmed along the indented coast of Jamaica, and as their enterprises were directed wholly against the Spaniards, they proved a source of profit

to the friendly island which gave them such a noble vantage-point and such admirable harbourage.

Jamaica, as already noted, is not only a mountainous island, but, unlike the others, is large enough for its mountains to become formidable fastnesses for such lawless elements as rejected, or were rejected by, its civilisation. So the Maroons were continually recruited by all such refugees, including, of course, a steady supply of runaway slaves. In place, therefore, of the native Caribs, who in one or two of the other British islands remained as a perennial cause of anxiety, Jamaica had this strong element of semi-barbarous aliens, living always under terms of but sullen acquiescence, and ready to take advantage of any momentary weakness, upon the borders of her prosperous and fat plantations in the plains and valleys. So we see her progressing into the eighteenth century, a typical West Indian island on the largest scale, gradually crystallising into an oligarchy of planters, with a large residuum of 'poor whites' and free negroes, and a rapidly increasing horde of negro slaves. The former grew wealthy in spite of tremendous setbacks—of earthquake, hurricane, and flood—and yet, with all the quasi-indolence of their physical habits, cherished their independence as ardently and were as jealous of British interference as the most vigorous, energetic, and democratic New Englander.

The trade restrictions mentioned in a former chapter as being the inevitable condition of colonial existence and British protection, but which, nevertheless, caused some inconvenience and discontent, took more definite shape soon after the British settlement of Jamaica. The Dutch, always busy in the carrying trade of the West Indies, were in the first half of the seventeenth century of great service, and on the friendliest footing with the English of the tropical colonies. While the Spaniards colonised in wasteful, expansive, magnificent, and relentless fashion, made contemptuous of small things and plodding industries by the wealth of their mines on the mainland, the Dutch planted their settlements with a view rather to sea-borne trade,

having in truth little genius for colonies of the English pattern. The French pursued, more or less, the same system as ourselves in the West Indies, and it is interesting to observe the comparative unity of procedure of the two peoples in the tropics as opposed to the immense contrast between New England and feudal, reactionary Canada in the north. That the French planters were without the political sensitiveness and independence of our own, is true, but it is not of vital moment from a practical standpoint. They settled down as sugar-planters under their respective governors, and, till the French Revolution introduced what proved the calamitous theories of its epoch into the West Indies, they got along very smoothly as regards their domestic affairs, living under very much the same conditions as their British neighbours. In the latter part of the seventeenth century, when Holland was at the zenith of that colonial power which proved too weighty for her resources and brought her into frequent conflict with England, the old friendly relationship between their respective colonies in the West Indies naturally ceased. Though the actual footing of the Dutch was chiefly on the mainland in Guiana (which will be spoken of in due course), great numbers of them settled down as planters in the English islands, to be eventually merged, as in New York, with the British population.

But if Jamaica from its size became and remained the chief of our West Indian islands, Barbadoes, the earliest settled of any importance, is far more wonderful. No British possession has ever made a mark in the Empire so disproportionate to its size, which, as already indicated, is about that of the Isle of Wight. And this, too, despite a proprietary tax that Barbadoes, together with the Leeward Islands of Antigua, St. Kitts, Nevis, and Montserrat, unlike most British colonies, suffered all its days, or rather till the abolition of slavery in 1834, when its days of great prosperity came to an end. We must not linger here over the conflicting claims of the early grantees—a matter of long protracted dispute between the Stuart kings and various notable personages who had wrung favours from them.

For, while these royal and noble disputants and their heirs were concerned with such spoils as could be squeezed by tax or tribute out of the islands, their development and progress—notably that of Barbadoes, which more immediately concerns us—went steadily on. It may be mentioned that Lord Carlisle stands out as the most prominent among these noblemen, eventually buying out the rights, patents, prior claims—due often to defective geographical knowledge—of the others. Himself a spendthrift, and dying deeply in debt, his son parted with the islands to Lord Willoughby, who went out himself in 1650 as Governor. The Barbadians, as militant Royalists, were induced to recognise the rights of a man acquired under the ‘Martyr King.’ But when overcome by a Cromwellian force, Willoughby lost his governorship, though curiously enough he was allowed to retain his privileges. The islanders, howsoever hostile to Cromwell, were glad enough at the prospect of escaping the proprietary tribute, which the Protector’s sentiments on these matters rendered tolerably certain.

* At the Restoration the question of the tribute was again revived, and further complicated by the unsatisfied claims and charges of former proprietors on the Willoughby ownership. The islanders now came forward and brought the whole case before the Privy Council, who gave judgment more or less against them. In broad terms, Lord Willoughby for the rest of his lease was to divide the island tribute with the King, who was to have the final reversion of the whole, with certain annuities for ever to the Carlisle heirs who had not been fully paid. So Lord Willoughby went out again as Governor in 1663, and amid great opposition passed an Act settling an export duty of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to the Crown for ever on everything shipped out of the island—a burden levied also on those Leeward Islands already mentioned. The proprietary rights were thus extinguished, and the islanders, who were before technically tenants, were declared freeholders, though the difference in actual fact was a shadowy one. But the sting remained, and an unjust tax—not concerned with Imperial interests or defence and

not yet utilised for the good of the colony -lay upon the islands for nearly two centuries. I have dwelt somewhat on this incident as it is a conspicuous exception to the much lighter and speedier methods of extinguishing proprietary rights observed in most of the other colonies. When an original proprietor, as in one or two familiar instances, expended personal energy and fortune in founding a colony it was only fair that he and his, for a reasonable period, should reap their reward. But the other kind of proprietor, who bore none of the burden and heat of the day, and merely regarded his unseen territory -lightly bestowed on him, perhaps, for favours possibly questionable -as a milch cow, the whole proceeding was anomalous.

Barbadoes is distinguished, above all West Indian islands, for the rapidity of its early development, for the admirable quality of the men who developed it, their zealous patriotism, and active assistance in all our wars in the West Indies. And to the present day, with all its changed conditions, the Barbadian of both colours is conspicuous for the intense affection with which he regards his island. The colony is distinguished, too, for having maintained and enjoyed representative government from the earliest times without a break to the present day, and for never having been occupied by a foreign force. It is also able to boast of being more completely cultivated and thickly populated, leaving towns out of the question, than almost any country in the world. There are to-day in Barbadoes more than a thousand people to the square mile ; or, in other words, making a living mainly out of the soil upon the same area (640 acres) that would constitute a single fairly large farm in England or western Canada employing, say, fifteen and five people respectively : a comparison not introduced as a reflexion upon these last, under their different climatic and other conditions, but merely as an interesting example of the comparative densities of rural population.

The first settlers in Barbadoes were dispatched in 1625, by Sir William Courteen, an Anglo-Dutch merchant of London, and found the island completely denuded of native

inhabitants—probably by the Spaniards for their mines. All went well, except for disputes with a second batch of colonists that, under the patronage of Lord Carlisle, who now enforced



SOLDIER OF WEST INDIA REGIMENT

his claim to the island, were landed three years later. But the two parties shook down together after a time, and left the wrangling to be done at home by the various claimants to the ownership of the island, as already related. The colony proved marvellously successful. An admirable class of settlers resorted thither, not merely those attracted by the fertility of the soil, but many quiet persons of substance, who mistrusted the future of England, which was then torn with

the factions that resulted in the great civil wars. 'Men,' says Clarendon, the great historian of that day, 'retired thither only to be quiet and to be free from the noise and oppressions in England, and without any ill thoughts towards the King.' So rapid was the growth of population that in 1643, the beginning of the war, there were some 20,000 English settlers, nearly half of whom were landowners or their families, and over 6000 negroes. An intimate connexion with the Dutch carrying-trade, and a free trade for themselves, conduced to this prosperity. Sugar as yet was of small importance, tobacco, indigo, and cotton forming at this early day the principal West Indian staples. The Barbadians, being mainly Church and King men, made the firmest stand against the Commonwealth of any British colonists, and their province was the only one that provided any actual fighting; while the Royalist cause was further stiffened by the incoming of many ex-Royalist soldiers or sufferers. In May 1650, the island authorities proclaimed King Charles II. and took strong measures against the persons and estates of the chief Parliamentarians in the colony.

Till 1650, moreover, the island had a most admirable Governor in Captain Bell, who then gave way to Lord Willoughby, the proprietor—he too proving a most efficient officer at a critical period. A Royalist, and holding both his private rights and his commission under the exiled King, he was at the same time a prudent and moderate man. Indeed, he had formerly fought upon the Parliamentary side, but, like many other good men, had been afterwards alienated by the extremes into which that party had drifted. His record was on this account not wholly palatable to the staunch Royalists of the island; but he nevertheless succeeded in conciliating them, and gave practical evidence of his sincerity by protesting against those interdictions of trade with their old friends and benefactors the Dutch, which Cromwell, bent on crushing those formidable rivals, had enacted.

It is interesting to note this early declaration of colonial

rights in which Willoughby, in the name of the Barbadians, asserted that they were not bound by the decrees of a Parliament in which they were unrepresented, and, in short, refused to cease their trade with the Dutch or any other nation. Sir George Ayscue was thereupon sent out with a fleet by Cromwell to bring them into subjection ; while, in the meantime, the colonists sequestered the property of the



WEST INDIAN LAUNDRY

few Parliamentarians on the island and made every preparation for resistance. Ayscue remained off the coast for some months, not venturing to attack them. At length, being reinforced, he landed and carried by storm a fort at Speightstown, then remote from the seat of government. A Colonel Modyford was the leading military spirit among the islanders, and was disposed to compromise. After trying in vain to get the Assembly to make overtures to Ayscue, while the two forces were facing each other, he persuaded his regiment of a thousand men to adopt his views, which brought matters to a crisis. An agreement was finally arrived at which left the Barbadians in enjoyment of all their

liberties, and thus ended an incident which is noteworthy as the only serious armed opposition offered by any colony to Cromwell's power. The Virginians and Marylanders had done some mild local faction fighting among themselves, but at the sight of a British Parliamentary force had surrendered at discretion.

I do not propose to bewilder the reader by following all the changes in the grouping of the various islands under single administrations. So far as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are concerned it is more to the purpose, I think, to take the two leading colonies of Jamaica and Barbadoes, a thousand miles distant from each other, as dominant types, with such allusion to the smaller islands and mainland tropical provinces as seems requisite. It may be said again, however, before proceeding, that Jamaica and Barbadoes succeeded, though not without fighting for it, in remaining consistently virgin soil to an enemy, while the smaller islands were the scenes of frequent conflict and mutual conquest, and, in a military sense, of more dramatic incident.

It was in 1660 that the Navigation Act was passed, which in all the American colonies, as already mentioned, regulated Imperial trade till the War of Independence, and, as I endeavoured at the same time to impress on the reader, was upon the whole a fair arrangement for both sides. At the first sight it may seem hard that the planting colonies—such as Barbadoes, Jamaica, Virginia, and the Carolinas—should have been compelled to ship their tobacco or sugar to England, and on British or colonial ships; but, on the other hand, they were protected from the competition of all foreign colonies by the duties levied upon the produce of the latter. If the planters grumbled that the world's markets were not open to them it may be mentioned that most of their foreign markets were protected by a heavy duty in favour of their own colonies or by absolute prohibition, while the British consumer, in his turn, grumbled that he was compelled by a high tariff to smoke colonial tobacco, to eat colonial sugar, and to use colonial tar. And, furthermore, for such bounties

as were from time to time granted upon colonial products, the British taxpayer had to provide.

One enactment in favour of the colonies, made before this time and still in force, was regarded as a real hardship in England and Ireland for over fifty years, and that was the prohibition against growing tobacco. The tobacco would not have been good any more than that produced in Holland and Germany to-day is good; but it would have



OF WEST INDIAN NEGROES

been saleable in the lower-class markets. I have used the words 'grievance' and 'hardship' merely for convenience. Every class that is affected is apt to think more of the effect upon itself than upon the general body politic. The fact that there seems to have been as much and as little grumbling upon one side of the Atlantic as the other, is good evidence that the complex machinery of Imperial taxation in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was handled impartially by experts honestly desirous of being fair to all parties. Scraps of legislation are sometimes quoted by English historians in their usually brief survey of colonial affairs as if some selfish trade or class in England were being assisted to

make money unfairly at the expense of the colonies. Whatever might be said as regards our Irish policy, as applied to our dealings with the colonies, this is nonsense. It would neither have been safe nor politic. It is quite true that manufactures were discouraged in the colonies and even legislated against, though vainly. This was a question which concerned New England almost alone; and in the give and take between the Mother Country and her colonies manufacturing was commonly treated as her recognised function. On one side was a small country with a large population of poor wage-earning people, with only space for a certain number in agriculture. On the other, immense areas of unoccupied land ever crying for tillers, who with normal industry could rapidly develop into broad-acred freehold farmers. It was not unnatural that Great Britain was a little jealous on this point. Many of the leading and even the most democratic of the colonial statesmen were at one with the Mother Country in this matter, which it must be remembered had no possible bearing on any of the 'planting colonies' either continental or insular: in other words, all those south of Pennsylvania. Benjamin Franklin himself wrote: 'Manufactures are founded in poverty. It is the multitude without land in a country, and who must work for others at low wages or starve, that enables undertakers to carry on a manufacture.' Even after the founding of the United States, Jefferson, the second President, was bitterly opposed to manufactures as conducing to a degenerate population. We have become such a 'nation of shepherds' in England that opinion has been warped into the other extreme. The labourer on the land, who has a fund of knowledge absorbed in the fresh air that his fellow in the towns simply does not know the meaning of, is too often held as of less account than the mill hand because he does not read so many halfpenny papers and cannot whistle so many comic songs.

It must be remembered, too, that the navigation laws, under which British and colonial produce had to be carried in British and colonial ships, favoured the shipbuilding

interest in New as well as in Old England—a form of industry that was never discouraged. But as a matter of fact all this was nothing like so important as it might appear to a trade-ridden modern. As it was, pig-iron and hats, with a few lesser articles, were produced in some quantities, and their manufacture practically winked at.

As a last word, the reader—whether he believes in Mr. Chamberlain or Mr. Cobden—must be urged to clear his mind of any vague notion that a seventeenth- or eighteenth-century statesman had any alternative of this kind. A nation and its colonies in those days were as a matter of course regarded as existing for one another's benefit within a ring-fence against the rest of the world. If on the face of things the Mother Country would seem to have insisted more loudly on this than her dependencies, it may be replied that the complaints of the colonies seem more plausible to the casual reader who has not fully considered the other and more complex side of the question. Injustice, beyond a doubt, was occasionally inflicted; but in the long run Great Britain held a fine and just balance between herself and her children, and the more one studies the matter the more one admires the skill, experience, and ability—above all, the sound common sense—that kept the balance of so many conflicting interests upon the whole so equably adjusted as to retain the approval of all capable of judging in both parties.

Of course the great fact of defence was a permanent trump card in the hand of the Mother Country, and one can fairly say that neither her honour nor her interest often allowed her to abuse it. A last point, too, must be insisted on that anyone may be pardoned for overlooking. It was as vital to the colonies as to Great Britain that the latter's vigour should remain unimpaired. She was small in size and population compared with her chief rivals, and it was only by keeping the heart of the Empire strong and vigorous that its extremities, themselves practically helpless, could be protected against ever vigilant and jealous foes. If sometimes, alarmed at possible injury to her trade or shipping and consequently her strength, some measure was taken

of an apparently one-sided nature, this fact must be remembered : England could have lived without Jamaica, but Jamaica could not have existed a week if England had not been strong enough to have defended her against a possible European coalition.

CHAPTER II

THE smaller West Indian islands were frequently grouped together for purposes of government, occasional changes in their distribution being made from that day to this. Towards the close of the seventeenth century the Caribbean islands were divided into the Leeward and Windward groups; Barbadoes becoming the pivot, as it were, of the latter or outer one, which included St. Vincent, St. Lucia, and Grenada. But these three islands, all a little smaller than Barbadoes, had neither European population nor importance to speak of till the opening of the eighteenth century, when they became prominent enough in both respects. Barbadoes, however, was in very truth a wonderful little spot of earth. She sent out colonists to every newly settled or conquered island, as well as to the North American planting colonies, and, when fighting was going forward, dispatched of her energy rather than of her abundance, well-equipped forces of two or three thousand men. Like all West Indian islands—and for obvious reasons—her white population increased steadily up to a certain point, and there remained for a long period; sometimes even declining. But the negro slaves went up in numbers by leaps and bounds, both through importation from Africa and natural increase. By 1675 there were over 20,000 whites and about 50,000 negro slaves in the little island. A few hundred of the former owned nearly all the land, the rest being bond-servants,¹ small squatters, and dependants of various kinds. Among all classes were considerable numbers of Scotsmen, already showing that aptitude for successful colonisation

¹ Barbadoes received a large share of Cromwell's deportations from Ireland following his campaign of 1647.

which has in later times so distinguished them ; though at home, Scotland was for a long time yet to be a byword for poverty and backwardness. There were numbers of Irish, too, both in Barbadoes and Jamaica, almost all, however, transported there against their will and, as we have seen, to become nearly always a source of danger in the face of foreign attack.

Closely cultivated, then, and devoted mainly to the pro-



SLAVE HOUSE, BARBADOES

duction of sugar—with its concomitants, rum and molasses—Barbadoes, throughout the eighteenth century, maintained the same, or even a decreasing population of whites, with a horde of 80,000 negroes, mostly slaves. Here, if anywhere, were the evils and the compensations of slavery in their intensest form. The North American planting colonies, whether then or later, as American States, were small slave-owners, as regards the individual, compared with Barbadoes or Jamaica, and indeed all the West Indies ; and, as I have before remarked, their standard of wealth and luxury was nothing like so high as in the islands. There is not much

domestic political history to be extracted from an island owned mainly and controlled wholly by rich sugar planters working negro slaves. Quarrels between the small Elective Assembly, chosen by a limited suffrage and the Governor, varied by occasional changes in trade laws and taxation made by the Mother Country, which bore well or ill on the island, were the main incidents. But if the opportunities for the local politician, who swarmed and flourished, even before the Revolution, in our North American colonies, were few, there was plenty of excitement of a more strenuous and only too stimulating kind. There were slave insurrections, devastating hurricanes, pestilences, and, above all, war and war's alarms, which even in such times of domestic trial might call on the islanders to prepare for resistance. The Stamp Act, which sowed the seeds of revolt in the North American colonies, caused almost as much resentment in the West Indies. For jealousy of interference from the British House of Commons and 'taxation without representation' was felt as much an outrage in the tropics as in the north; but resistance where sea-power was everything, and French and Spanish warships were also in constant evidence, did not come within the range of practical West Indian politics. Barbadoes and her sister islands, however, suffered greatly from the war itself; for their supplies of flour and meat, which came mainly from the North American continent, were for years cut off, thereby reducing her people to the verge of starvation. In 1780 she was desolated by the worst hurricane in her history, and on the top of it all was called to gird her loins against a victorious French fleet which was capturing one island after another till, at the moment when her virgin record seemed in the direst peril, Rodney's famous victory over de Grasse brought relief and safety. A timely grant of British money, too, for the alleviation of her accumulated misfortunes must have helped to clinch those ties of unity and dependence which, for obvious reasons, always bound the West Indies more closely than the North American colonies to the Crown. And thus recovering in due

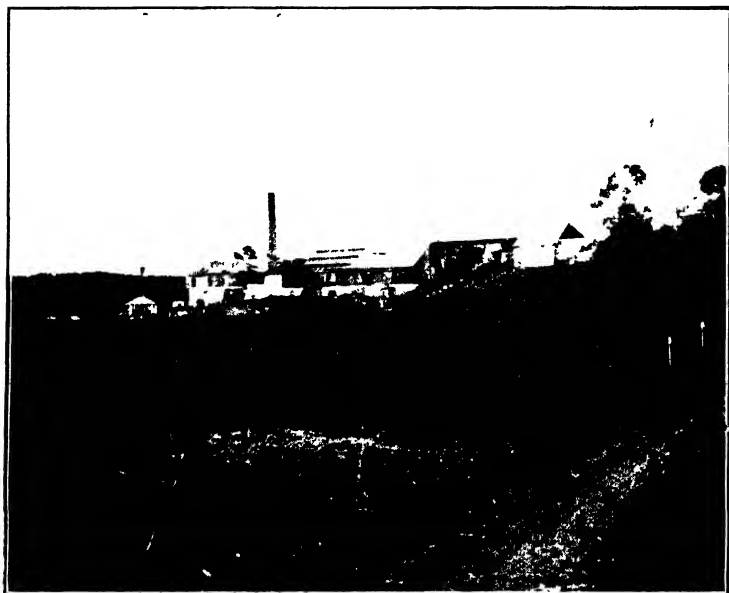
course prosperity and retaining it unimpaired, save for the set-back caused by the British-American War of 1812, Barbadoes produced her abounding annual crop of sugar till the great upheaval of slave emancipation in 1834.

A sturdier little community of oversea Britons, slave owners and tropic-born though they were, has probably never existed or been more important in the world for their trifling numbers than these Barbadians throughout the two centuries preceding emancipation. Figures may be dry reading, but they are instructive, and in 1834 there were only 13,000 whites all told in the island and 82,000 slaves, about a fourth only of the former owning nearly all the latter, or, to put it more precisely, being members of slave-owning families. It might also be interesting to note that when Virginia, to take an example, broke away from us, she had nearly twenty times the whole population of Barbadoes, but only about double the number of negro slaves. Whatever we may think of slavery, Barbadoes, like the other islands, was compelled to use black labour. The physical distress of white bond-servants and wretched political exiles had more than proved this much, if proof were needed, and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries slavery was regarded as a natural incident of the country. And again, whether we like it or not, we are forced to admit that this insignificant handful of slave-owners made their little colony the best-cultivated spot and themselves perhaps the sturdiest unit in the British colonial empire. It is generally recognised, too, that under utterly changed conditions, the 170,000 free negroes, as well as the few thousand whites, in Barbadoes to-day, even now possess an affection for their little island, an *amor patriæ*, even more pronounced than in the other West Indian islands. But the star of Barbadoes and the West Indies, which commercially and socially paled with emancipation, has long been eclipsed by the prodigious development of our great self-governing white colonies, and one cannot escape from the fact that their chief interest and importance lie in the past rather than in the present and future.

We left Jamaica, situated as it is a thousand miles to the westward, rapidly developing into the other leading representative of West Indian life. Till the beginning of the eighteenth century, Barbadoes, in spite of her small size, led the van. Henceforward geographical extent and a corresponding population brought about the inevitable preponderance of the greater island. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, however, the Jamaica Legislature had a severe brush with the Crown. Prompted by what seemed too great an assertion of independence, the British Government endeavoured to apply Poyning's law to the island. This law, famous in Irish annals, was enacted there in the Tudor period for the restraint of what was a half-conquered and naturally a semi-rebellious country. It provided that the local Assembly could only be summoned on instructions from England, and then only to pass laws that had already been framed in the British Parliament. This seemed an outrage on those rights of free-born Englishmen that had been granted to the Jamaicans, and they resisted it so stoutly that the Crown gave up the attempt. The main object of this move was to secure a permanent revenue for the Crown, independent of the island Legislature, a point on which every British colony was extremely sensitive. For they all cherished with great tenacity the power of the purse, exercised through their Assembly, from which came the Governor's salary and other expenditures of a like kind, as a weapon with which to resist encroachments on their liberties. When the power of initiating legislation, however, had been granted to the Jamaicans, it was contingent on the approval of the Crown, and as the latter threw out the greater number of bills passed in the Assembly, the dispute continued till 1728, when a permanent understanding was arrived at. In return for a fixed revenue to the Crown the island bills were all passed and Parliament ceased to interfere with local legislation.

About this time the Maroons, those Spanish slaves, it will be remembered, who with a sprinkling of whites had refused the olive branch at the British conquest, were proving

a serious menace to the progress of the island, while fresh bands had been formed by the runaway negroes and bondsmen of the English planters. Secure in the mountain fastnesses of the north and north-east of the island, they could issue forth on plundering expeditions and raid the plantations almost with impunity. British troops were stationed along



A SUGAR ESTATE

their boundaries, and for a long time an irregular war was carried on with very little practical result against these hardy savage men, intimate as they were with the densely wooded mountain wilderness which the British soldier of that day had little facility or equipment for campaigning in. After some years of small progress and poor achievement in this business, free negroes and West Indians of more nimble habit were enlisted, and eventually the Maroons were compelled to sue for peace and were settled on reserves under certain conditions, one of which made them liable to military service for the Crown within the borders of the island. They remained

fairly quiet till 1795, when another rising occurred. The British troops encountered the same difficulties as before, and it was not till bloodhounds and woodsmen had been imported from Cuba that the Maroons could be reduced to a capitulation. Six hundred of those captured were removed to Halifax, Nova Scotia, just then, with the influx of refugee loyalists from the American war, rising into prosperity. But the transfer of these indolent, undisciplined sons of the tropics to the cold climate and strenuous atmosphere of an infant Canadian colony was a hopeless failure. Finally a philanthropist took pity on their shivering helplessness and removed the survivors to Sierra Leone. Large numbers who were not involved in this rising, however, remained on their old preserves in Jamaica, to be given eventually equal rights with other British subjects. But in the negro outbreak of 1865 they were nevertheless called out again, and responded readily. No account of Jamaican history could be complete without a word about the Maroons, as they have been a picturesque, if sanguinary, element in West Indian story, and the subject of no little literature, including Captain Marryat's once well-known novel, 'The Maroon.'

The surface of Jamaica is so broken up into mountain and valley that a well-known tale runs how Columbus, on being asked for a description of the new island he had discovered, crumpled up a piece of paper in his hand and threw it on the table as the readiest and most graphic which occurred to him. The main range, which runs east and west nearly through the island, rises at the Blue Mountain peak to a height of over 7000 feet, and the scenery is magnificent. Being well furnished with natural harbours, Jamaica, from the time we first possessed it, when the buccaneers made it their base of enterprise against Spanish America, and incidentally forwarded the prosperity of the island, has always been a seat of naval war and commerce. In the eighteenth century the African slave trade found here its greatest entrepôt, and here the fleets of England from the time of Vernon till that of Nelson and his captains were almost as much at home as at Plymouth or Spithead. It

was not only the profits of the sugar planter that enriched Jamaica, but the plunder of victorious fights by sea and land were constantly brought in, on which the island, in one way or another, invariably levied a handsome toll. Of all its harbours that on which Kingston, the capital of the island and the largest town in the British West Indies, stands is far the most famous. Twelve miles long and more than three in width, and almost land-locked, it is protected from the ocean by seven miles of sandy spit. On the point of this stands Port Royal, now merely a naval station, but for the first century of our occupation, till earthquake and fire had demolished it, the chief mart of the island, just as Spanish Town, a few miles inland, was then, and until forty years ago, its political capital. Kingston rose just across the harbour, out of the ashes of old Port Royal, but though henceforward the virtual metropolis it was not made the administrative centre till comparatively recent times.

The physical characteristics of Jamaica entail no little climatic variety, and made her something more even in the old slavery days than a mere planting island, though sugar, with cocoa, tobacco and indigo as secondary crops, was the great staple product. In the interior are high cool plains of grass that have been famous always for breeding good horses and cattle, while, unlike Barbadoes, which lacks water, Jamaica is magnificently watered by mountain streams.

The West Indies, as we have said, were the veritable home of lurid tragedy. In 1692 a fearful earthquake wiped out Port Royal in its very heyday of prosperity and bursting with the spoils of Spain. The French, then in strength in Hispaniola (now Hayti), considering the moment favourable, invaded the island. They swept the south-east portion with fire and sword, but were ultimately repulsed and driven out by the colonial militia. In all the attacks on our West Indian islands the ex-political prisoner element, particularly the Irish, was a constant and natural source of danger. There is no occasion to catalogue the earthquakes,

fires and hurricanes, the slave rebellions, and visitations of



ADMIRAL LORD RODNEY

yellow fever, with frequent periods of impending invasion,

which kept the Jamaican from acquiring the rather apathetic provincialism of the colonists, particularly in the slave-owning provinces of the North American continent. As we remarked upon a former page, he was kept far more in touch with England and the world in general than his North American equivalent. The West Indian influence in Parliament was indeed no slight one in the eighteenth century, whereas the North American colonies had none whatever, save incidentally through the merchants who traded with them.

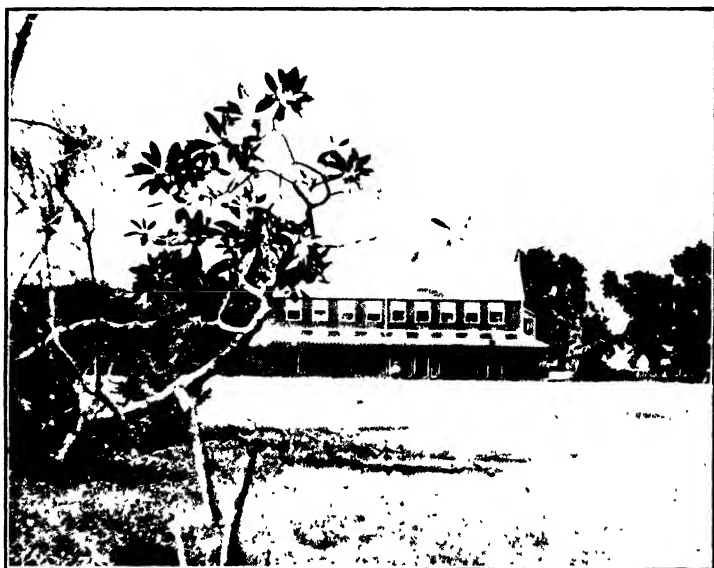
The West Indian, too, was used to consorting with and entertaining English naval and military men. Though politically as independent and touchy as a North American, and quite as locally patriotic, he was more of a cosmopolitan, and, though inhabiting a country more physically unlike the Motherland than either Massachusetts or Virginia, he did not drift away from the parent stock, in speech, manner and habit, nearly so far as, in their different ways, was the case with these others even in the colonial period. The larger planters of Virginia and Maryland counted for a good deal when reckoned against the extremely democratic American background. But these provinces had a large middle class of freeholders, ill-educated but substantial men and often slave-owners, who had to be reckoned with. North Carolina though a slave state mainly consisted of rough, white freeholders of small or very limited estate. South Carolina alone more nearly approached the West Indian model. In all the islands a small wealthy class of planters and merchants practically represented colonial opinion, and controlled the country. The other white elements counted for little, and a very large proportion of them were in a wholly inferior or even degraded position. By the end of the eighteenth century there were only 30,000 whites, indicating say 6000 adult males of all sorts, in Jamaica, of whom 2000 would be a generous estimate of fathers and sons representing the slave-owning interest, and these ruled the island. These figures again would fall to about half that number of heads of households owning between

them, allowing for free negroes, a quarter of a million slaves. These approximate figures and comparisons are of some interest as showing into what different types our earlier colonists of the same original breed had drifted.

On the one extreme we have the comparatively dense white population of New England, with one man professedly as good as another and most of them theologians and politicians with a strenuous personal industry their chief characteristic. On the other is the West Indian planter, with his hordes of slaves, his overseers, his sociable habits and easy-going, luxurious life. And then to complete the picture we have a compromise between the two in the planting colonies of North America.

Jamaica, with the insignificant islands known as the Caymans, would seem on the face of it to have occupied rather a perilous and isolated situation with the Spanish island of Cuba and the then French island of Hayti, both many times its size, in such near neighbourhood. As one passes on to say something of the other West Indian islands, the almost ridiculously small size of all of them, in view of the stir that in their day they have made in the world, comes on one afresh. Even Jamaica looks but a fragment beside Cuba and Hayti, neither of which one is accustomed to associate with power or prominence, while Barbadoes is but a pin's head on the map. The Leeward islands, the northern portion of that outer chain which the Spaniards called the 'Lesser' as they had called the larger islands round Cuba the 'Greater' Antilles, are on the same scale as Barbadoes, or, to use our old familiar standard of comparison, as the Isle of Wight. The terms *Leeward* and *Windward* grew into official use from the old language of the sailors, and need no explanation. The former group contains the British islands of Barbuda, Antigua, St. Christopher (commonly called St. Kitts), Nevis, Dominica, Montserrat, and one or two lesser islands. St. Kitts and Nevis are only divided by a narrow strait and taken together are barely half the size of Barbadoes. St. Kitts has, however, the honour of being actually our first West Indian

territory to be occupied, having a start of some two years over Barbadoes. It was included with the latter under the Carlisle grant, which will be remembered as so prominent a feature in the history of that island. Thomas Warner, a name well known in West Indian lore, was the active agent under Carlisle and other patrons to first plant the British flag, together with a crop of tobacco, on St. Kitts.



GOVERNMENT HOUSE, ST. KITTS

But some French arrived at the same moment and the two companies agreed to share the island and disregard the quarrels of their respective Motherlands. But this Utopian situation, particularly as the island settled up apace, was too much for the self-restraint of seventeenth-century Gauls and Britons. Still they succeeded in maintaining it till the war with both France and Holland in the decadent period of Charles II brought on a struggle between the first-named country and Great Britain for all the Leeward islands. Of these St. Kitts in its little way has been called the mother—sending out of its small abundance colonists

to Antigua, Montserrat, and the other islands. Antigua was larger and became more populous than St. Kitts, while Montserrat fell into the hands of the deported Irish, and it is not surprising that it joined the French or attempted to, at every possible opportunity.

During this unfortunate war most of the islands changed hands, some of them more than once. The Peace of Breda, however, in 1667 more or less restored the *status quo*,



FISH HARBOUR, ANTIGUA

but in the French wars of William III and of Marlborough's time, there was more fighting and more capturing of islands. The Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 gave the Leeward islands finally to Great Britain. The most notable governors, promoters of industry, and military leaders in the Leeward islands of all this period were natives of Barbadoes, Christopher Codrington who had removed thence to Antigua, and his capable son who succeeded him. Dominica, later on an important island of this group, figured very little till it came definitely into British from French hands at the Treaty of 1763. Though chiefly French so far as settlement went, it seems to have been regarded as a neutral

territory by adventurers and as a Carib reserve by their Governments.

To touch on the life and progress of these little islands is merely to repeat a more than once told tale. A white population almost as numerous in its few thousand souls in the days of the Stuarts as in the days of the later Georges and sometimes even more so ; but a negro slave population steadily growing till it reaches the limit of ten, twelve, or fifteen to one, when the available land of the half-mountainous island is all cultivated with the fullest force necessary. We see the crops of the early settlers—tobacco, cocoa, indigo, cotton, and coffee—gradually giving way to the great monopoly and fortune-making staple of sugar. As in Jamaica and Barbadoes we have the wealthier planter, as we have endeavoured to describe him, developing into the only power in the colony worth considering, unembarrassed by the well-to-do and numerous democracy of white freeholders, that kept the larger landowners and slave-owners of the North American planting colonies very much more on their good behaviour. For through all the changes of ownership, through wars and earthquake, fire and pestilence, hurricanes and slave insurrections, from which every island suffered intermittently, life in the smaller as in the larger islands, with sugar as king, pursued a wonderfully even course, in spite of those interludes of tragedy, such as the home-staying Briton, the New Englander or Virginian knew nothing of. Another element unknown to the continental colonies was that of the middlemen or attorneys who managed the estates of owners who lived permanently in England. These people were often owners of estates themselves, in addition to undertaking those of absent neighbours.

The Windward isles form the group south of the important French island of Martinique, the horrors of whose recent partial destruction by volcanic eruption will be fresh in the reader's mind. These are St. Lucia, St. Vincent and Grenada, running from north to south, with Tobago and Trinidad, which continue the chain to the

mainland of Venezuela and have no political connexion with these others, belonging indeed to a somewhat different atmosphere and having altogether another story. Barbadoes, it will be noticed, stands out to the eastward from the link in the long chain which is formed by the above islands, including also the still smaller Grenadines. But Barbadoes ranks by itself, as we have seen, like Jamaica, and though so small, is altogether too important to be merely a unit in a group, though the Windward isles have at former periods of their chequered career come within the orbit of its government.

The reader may safely regard the Windward isles, including also Dominica, as only coming on the page of our colonial history about the middle of the eighteenth century, and then to figure for half a century as objects of attack by French and English in turn, and as among the small change, so to speak, of the many treaties of peace. They were, like the rest, discovered in one or other of Columbus's many voyages, and as familiar geographically as the thickly settled islands from that time forward. But in the first place the indigenous Caribs, reinforced by shipwrecked or escaped slaves, remained there in considerable strength, and always formidable to such small groups of Europeans as an infant settlement implied. This obstacle alone, however, was by no means insurmountable, nor indeed were all these people always hostile. Both French and English made small settlements in the islands, but there were constant three-cornered disputes going forward, to say nothing of conflicting claims of the two home Governments. Generally speaking these last agreed to leave the islands as neutral territory and Carib reserves, though this did not prevent a small planting community of both nations settling on them with their slaves and pursuing the usual West Indian life and industries.

Grenada had a more definite though weak existence as a French colony. After a good deal of fighting over the island in the Seven Years' War, the Peace of Paris, which gave Canada to England, gave her also permanent possession

of all the Windward islands except St. Lucia. These were constituted a Government under Grenada with representative institutions ; after which settlement and planting proceeded more regularly. But it may be remembered that a clear majority of the white population of these Windward islands were French, with the laws, customs and religion then appertaining to that nation, this element having been



ROSEAU, DOMINICA

mainly supplied to them by the neighbouring and powerful French island of Martinique. In the next war, that of American Independence, in which the French were again our enemies, the beautiful island of St. Lucia, much coveted by our naval men for its splendid harbour, was wrested from them and thence sailed Rodney to that great victory over de Grasse in 1782, which saved the British situation in the West Indies. In our wars against revolutionary France, there was more heavy fighting in that part of the world. But another danger and another element altogether now entered into the struggle. Hitherto French and English

West Indies, whatever their conflicts and disagreements had been, were united in their domestic and social opinions. They were all, that is to say, slave-owners on a more or less lavish scale and so far aristocratic in sentiment. Now, however, the democratic doctrines of the French Revolution in their crudest form had swept over the French West Indies,



ST. GEORGE'S, GRENADA

with their fatal complications of negro slavery, like a tidal wave.

As a militant foe to England something of the vigour which inspired the Republican forces of France in Europe was communicated to the motley collection of Europeans, negroes, and Caribs which inhabited the French islands. With the horrors which distinguished Martinique and Hayti and the bloody anarchy which left the last-named island to the melancholy burlesque of negro misrule it represents to-day, we have nothing to do. But all the inflammable material, among the French, negroes, and Caribs in such

English islands as St. Vincent and Grenada, caught fire, and they were nearly lost to us. Several well-known English officers won early fame in the fierce three cornered contest of civil and international war which now raged in and around the islands, Sir John Moore and Abercromby, of Egyptian fame, among the foremost. At its successful close

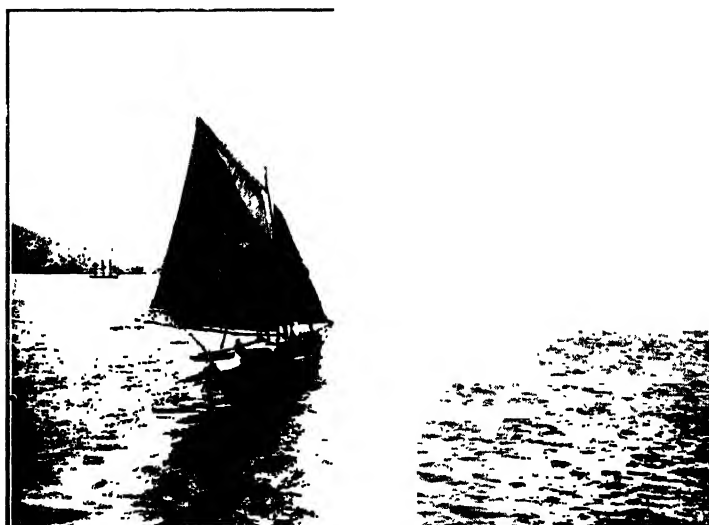


SCENE IN GRENADA

the Caribs of St. Vincent, like the Maroons of Jamaica, at about the same date, 1797, were shipped to the number of 5000 to an island off Honduras. In the Napoleonic wars there was more heavy fighting at St. Lucia, which for its great strategic value formed a leading object of French and British contention.

At the treaty of 1814, however, St. Lucia once more reverted to England and the political complexion of the West Indies settled permanently down, so far as England was concerned, into the conditions of ownership which now distinguish them. Slavery had been violently shattered in the French islands by the Revolution. The beautiful

and valuable island of Martinique recovered itself in course of time, while the commercial policy of the Mother Country, with its more direct interest in the prosperity of its tropical colonies, has resulted in making the island rather a humiliating object-lesson to the modern British traveller when forced to compare it with some of our own neighbouring possessions.



Tobago, the most southerly of the Windward islands, and in a political sense but intermittently of the group, has practically the same broken story as the rest of it; bandied about by treaty, sale or violence from one power to another, with brief intervals of semi-neutrality. The Dutch held it for a long time in the seventeenth century and made more of its great fertility than any of their rivals. After many vicissitudes it was formally recognised as a possession of the British Crown at the treaty of 1763. Its white population of about 2000 were given representative government, a Council and Elective Assembly, most of the planters by this time being of French origin, and exporting

sugar, cotton, and the other tropical products to Europe. Through the varying fortunes of the French wars and its changing ownership we need not follow so small a community, though the commercial possibilities of Tobago had frightened the Barbadians to such an extent in the seventeenth century that they had sent one of their ever-ready regiments to break up the unfortunate Dutch plantations there. It fell definitely to Great Britain at the collapse of Napoleon, and, like many other of our islands since the abolition of slavery, has been allowed to waste most of its fertility and its resources upon the desert air. It may be incidentally stated that Tobago is generally credited with being the scene of that immortal work 'Robinson Crusoe.'

Within sight of Tobago and close to the mainland comes Trinidad, the largest of all the British islands in the Lesser Antilles. Roughly a parallelogram of sixty miles by fifty, Trinidad stands aloof historically from the Windward and Leeward isles, with its old Spanish associations and the atmosphere of the mainland from which at one point only ten miles of water, turgid from the outpourings of the Orinoco river, divides it. Though largely colonised by Frenchmen, Trinidad remained a colony of Spain till that country was dragged into war with England in Napoleon's time, and paid the price by the loss of this valuable island, captured by Sir Ralph Abercromby. Its story begins for us with the excitement, rather characteristic of a certain home-staying element in our nation, that was aroused in England over the proceedings of its first governor, that famous General Picton who afterwards fell gloriously at the head of the Light Division at Waterloo. The island was at that time occupied by a mixed population, no part of it friendly to or familiar with British rule, and containing every element of anarchy. There were French planters touched with the extravagant opinions of the late Revolution, Spanish planters who disliked these more enterprising intruders and loathed their new opinions. There were some Dutch and quite a number of Irish, while of the coloured races there were swarms of negro slaves from Africa or the

other West Indian islands or bred in Trinidad, besides half-bred natives from the Spanish mainland. A firm hand was required, and Picton's was both firm and wise. Charges of cruelty were brought against him of which, after a long trial, he was practically acquitted, and the charges themselves reduced almost to an absurdity, having regard to the crisis he had to face with an insufficient military force. The cost of the trial greatly embarrassed Picton and his family, who were Welsh country squires. A significant tribute to his integrity is furnished by the fact that after his departure the Trinidad Spaniards urgently petitioned not to be given back to Spain, presented him with a sword of honour and sent him a free gift of £4000 towards the expenses of his trial, which Picton, however, returned when Port-of-Spain, the capital of the island, was reduced to distress by a conflagration.

This comparatively large island, actually mountainous only along its northern fringe and extremely fertile, made excellent progress after coming under British rule. The various nationalities settled down well together, and emancipation did not hit Trinidad so hard as most of the other islands, partly from the fact that its material development was of more recent origin. To-day it is probably the most prosperous and promising of them all, and contains nearly 200,000 souls, nearly a third of whom are imported East Indian coolies. Practically free from hurricanes and earthquakes, and advantageously placed for trade with the mainland, it is one of the spots in the West Indies that suggests to travellers a bright future rather than departed glories. Its capital, Port-of-Spain, has over 30,000 inhabitants and possesses its only harbour. The other three sides of the rectangle are practically harbourless, though this is of less significance, as the whole of the western coast on the almost landlocked Gulf of Paria furnishes more or less of an anchorage. The small inland town of St. Joseph has some peculiar interest, as it was founded by the Spaniards in 1577, is still inhabited by the descendants of some of these people, and was captured by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1595. Sugar and

cocoa are the principal products of Trinidad, which has now for long been governed as a Crown colony.

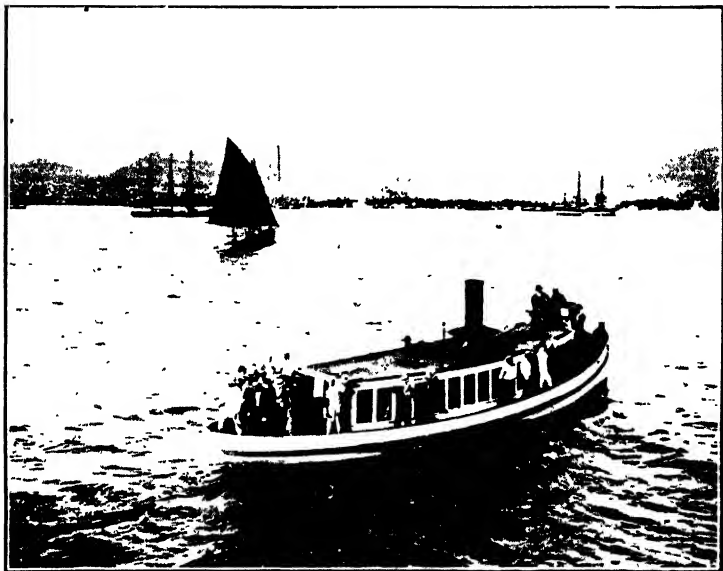
As regards the West Indies in a historical sense, it only remains to notice those two mainland provinces which are, for the obvious reasons of similarity in climate, products and conditions, included in this portion of the empire—British Honduras and British Guiana. The latter is much the larger and more important, and as we are already in its neigh-



SAMEN TREE, WITH COUNTRY HOUSE, TRINIDAD

bourhood, it obviously demands first notice. The shape of the province might be described as that of a tower running north and south with a gable roof, the eastern slope of the gable forming its Atlantic coast-line. It is some 500 miles long by 300 miles in width, so all our West Indian islands could be comfortably dropped within its limits. But whatever the remote future may have in store, this preponderance in area must not be allowed to upset the reader's sense of proportion as regards its historical and commercial importance. For though the population is nearly 300,000, only a trifling fraction of it is of European blood, the rest being a motley collection of

East Indian coolies (100,000), Africans of the West Indies (150,000), Aborigines (10,000), and a few thousand Chinamen. Of the European stock, about 10,000 are returned as Portuguese. Brazil, it should be remembered, being the adjoining territory on the south, while Venezuela, as we should all of us have good cause to remember, is its neighbour on



GULF OF PARIA

the north. British Guiana is a land of noble rivers running down from a mountainous interior through cultivated plains to the ocean. It is but a slice of the old and greater Guiana, the Dutch and French respectively occupying the two other wedges of it to the south east. Its name will for Englishmen be inseparably associated with that of Sir Walter Raleigh. Discovered by Columbus, closely followed by Spanish explorers in the last three years of the fifteenth century, it was Guiana that stimulated those early dreams of an El Dorado, the city of solid gold, which fixed that word in the vocabulary of all nations. The Spaniards, however, well as they knew its great rivers and general

configuration, made no settlement within it to speak of. That will-o'-the-wisp, the mysterious golden city, held men's minds all through the sixteenth century, and Raleigh's enterprises both in person and by proxy were directed to Guiana more persistently than in any other direction. It was hither that his last unfortunate journey was made in 1617, which proved barren of all results, except that of provoking the Spaniards and losing him his head at the hands of his mean-spirited master, James I. The numerous large rivers of Guiana, rolling down from a mysterious hinterland, had great fascination for all the early sailors and traders. The Dutch made the first permanent settlements as early as 1580 on the Amazon in what is now Dutch Guiana, and on the Essequibo near the spot where Georgetown, the flourishing capital of the British province, now stands. Just about or soon after the date of Raleigh's death, some of his friends and contemporaries busied themselves a good deal in colonisation schemes on the coast of Guiana, a movement which resulted in a strong company under the patronage of the Duke of Buckingham. Roger North went out to the mouth of the Amazon as deputy governor with 200 colonists. Charles I, however, would not take the risk of supporting his grant by a formal annexation, and failure followed. The French, too, were busy on the coast, and from 1613 to about 1660 there were intermittent French settlements at Cayenne. Colbert, who, it will be remembered, breathed the first real life and vigour into Canada, encouraged a stronger French company, which in 1663 sent out 1200 colonists, who formed the nucleus of the present French Guiana.

In 1650 Lord Willoughby of Parham, so prominent in the earlier history of Barbadoes and the surrounding islands, sent 100 settlers to Surinam in the present Dutch Guiana. In 1663 he secured a Crown grant of the district and twice went there himself. This colony prospered, but in the war with Holland was compelled to surrender to a Dutch force. Willoughby's equally capable brother, William, however, destroying *en route*, after the amiable fashion of

that time, the new French colony of Cayenne, recovered the family possession. But by the terms of the ensuing Treaty of Peace, which like most treaties wiped out the hard-won conquests of many a bold adventurer, the Surinam colony was restored, though counterpoised by that surrender of New York to the British which by the light of modern days seems to weigh infinitely heavier in the scale. But in the days of African slavery a tropical colony of deep, rich land, providing the Mother Country with sugar, cotton, tobacco, indigo, and cocoa and other incidentals, held the European fancy much more strongly than cold or temperate climes, where the white man had to hold the plough and by the sweat of his brow raise more or less the same crops as were raised in as great or greater abundance in Hampshire or Yorkshire.

Let us compare the prospects lying respectively before the emigrant who could by sheer enterprise, or in the usual course by the expenditure of a very few hundred pounds, get together a bunch of even a dozen or two negroes and secure a grant of Crown lands, and the settler of more or less the same condition who went into the North American woods by himself with his family and hacked out a few acres of wheat or corn lands laboriously year by year, which for a generation could not possibly yield more than a living. Our tropical colonists took risks of all kinds to the very last, with always the reasonable prospect of really making money. Our North American colonists, outside at any rate of the slave States—and not much money was made even with slave labour north of South Carolina—secured health, a competence, and a life free from alarms. Providence holds the balance with wonderful precision in these matters. One thing, however, should be taken note of in the history of the West Indies, namely, that when an undeveloped island or a new sphere in the mainland commanded attention, it was the surplus or adventurous element of the older tropical colonies, whether of British or foreign blood, which seized the occasion. From the middle of the seventeenth to the end of the eighteenth century it is doubtful if the British

agricultural emigrant, who is so much in demand in temperate colonies, figured at all here as a pioneer. As the cutter out of a plantation from tropical forests, as the owner of slave labour and the cultivator of tropical products, he would almost certainly have been no little out of his element.

The Dutch remained in possession of the Essequibo basin, actually occupying a spot in the heart of the present British province for over a century. As regards numbers they continued but a trifling community. The impulse to settle up a planting colony seemed lacking to their nation, and there were hindrances to such enterprise in their home government. So far as they went, however, they did well, and the numerical weakness which left them exposed to attack from their Spanish neighbours on the Orinoco to the west, and from the French on the east, as well as from their own slaves, they in some sort mitigated by skilful relations with the aborigines. After some brief interludes of both British and French occupation, and a considerable influx of English and other settlers, the three Dutch settlements of Berbice, Essequibo, and Demerara were finally made over at the beginning of the nineteenth century to Great Britain, the Dutch inhabitants themselves being not unwilling to find repose under the flag of a power strong enough to secure their position. The three colonies were then, under the English name of counties, formed into one state and government, the population at this time being about 100,000 slaves and less than 10,000 whites and free blacks.

The method of culture here was not so much cutting down the forests on the slightly higher and drier ground in the rear, but in true Dutch fashion banking out the sea and reclaiming the vast swampy marsh lands along the coast. The whole sea-coast strip became, as it is upon an extended scale to-day, a vast fertile, highly cultivated plain lying behind a sea wall, and intersected by straight canals dividing and draining the successive estates, the backs of which touch the primeval forests of the hinterland. These huge levels are now practically all in sugar cane, and such for the present at any rate is British Guiana. In the back-lying wilderness

are forests of valuable timber, lofty mountains rising to 8000 feet, and gold mines which give promise, if not of the



TYPICAL SCENE, COCOA PLANTS IN FOREGROUND, DOLORES,
BRITISH HONDURAS

El Dorado which dazzled the old Spaniards and their English rivals, nevertheless of considerable possibilities.

Not only in its history and Dutch antecedents does the colony differ from any other of our West Indian possessions. When the abolition of slavery reduced its fortunes for lack

of systematised labour to breaking point, the importation of free labour from the East Indies, in other words coolie labour, set in, both on a scale and with a measure of success unknown elsewhere. Out of a total population of some 300,000, more than one-third are East Indian importations or their progeny. The government too is peculiar, as the old Dutch system of nominating councillors is maintained. There is no popular assembly, but voters under high qualifications elect a body of six *keisers* (choosers) for life, who have the right of nominating half the governor's council. A further body of six more elected for two years by the same body of voters acting with the others, form a council which deals with finance only. British Guiana is constitutionally a compromise between representative government and a Crown colony, and works admirably. Its capital of Georgetown, containing some 40,000 souls, is a handsome well-built town at the mouth of the Demerara river. Its sugar lands are among the best in the world and the manipulation of the crop is nowhere more scientifically conducted. But the measure of its success, like all cane sugar nowadays, is peculiar and belongs to the domain of modern commerce.

British Honduras upon a map of any scale is but a speck of red upon the irregularly shaped isthmus known as Central America which connects the north and south portions of the continent. In reality it is rather larger than Jamaica, and pressed into the extreme southern corner of Mexico, it faces due east across the Caribbean Sea towards that famous island and distant from it some 600 miles. It seems doubtful whether a British colony that, though so anciently settled, only contains to-day a few hundred British or kindred people and some 30,000 Spanish Indians, should detain us in these pages, rich in incidents of limited significance though its story may be.

The settlement originated with those buccaneers who in their slack periods and more peaceful moments were accustomed to turn their attention to cutting logwood and mahogany. They were fairly safe from Spanish interference even on Spanish ground, for that grandiloquent

nation did not greatly concern itself with such a humdrum trade as log-cutting, while the dense forests formed a sort of screen against their observation. The settlement was nevertheless occasionally attacked, but managed to defend itself for about a century, till in 1740 Commissioners were appointed by the Crown to govern the colony, though it was



NATIVE HUTS AND INDIANS, DOLORES, BRITISH HONDURAS

regarded as a dependency of Jamaica, and after the Treaty of 1763 it received a Constitution. This recognised its form of government, which in so small a community was by public meeting and elected magistrates. The white settlers, mostly English and known as Baymen, were a rough, hardy set, true to the bold ancestry from which their forbears and predecessors emanated, though these rude log-cutters also played the seemingly incongruous part of slave-owners. The Spaniards, though not often actively aggressive, manifested occasional irritation at the intrusion of the colony, whose

limits vaguely trenched upon the south-east of Mexico, and in 1798 a fleet with a force of 2000 men attempted to destroy it. The Baymen, however, assisted by their slaves, who seem to



RUBBER WALK, DOLORIS, BRITISH HONDURAS

have been remarkably attached to them, and a British ship, defeated the invaders at sea, and the colony, from having been a half-recognised lodgment as it were on Spanish soil, became a clearly defined British province. It passed, like many of our other West Indian possessions, through a period of representative government to the later and under modern conditions more suitable position of a Crown colony. Its connexion with Jamaica was finally severed about twenty-five years

ago, and now no longer a lieutenant-governorship, it has an administrator of its own direct from England. Its capital is Belise, and its chief industry is still in its ancient exports of logwood and mahogany, which are drifted down the rivers, though a small trade in fruit is carried on with the United States.

The Bermudas, though not in the West Indian sphere, come upon the scene in the dawn of British colonisation with a flavour of romance that lingered long and is due in part to a single incident and no little to an etymological misapprehension.

Shakespeare in the 'Tempest,' as is generally supposed, and more directly Andrew Marvell, Waller, and Thomas Moore, have all been inspired to verse by one or other of these causes; the last-mentioned alone, who on the strength of a forty years' salary as Registrar of the Bermuda Court of Admiralty spent a few months there, declaiming with any local knowledge. Lying far to the north of the West Indies and out among the gales of the Atlantic, the lotus-eating characteristics with which poetic imagination so long invested them were not very conspicuous. The earlier navigators who preceded the actual settlers of North America and the West Indies cursed them consistently for their stormy qualities, but they acquired fortuitously in those days of phonetic spelling the designation of the 'Summer Isles,' and started the English poets, ingenuous geographers for the most part, singing of them in romantic strain. The way of it was this. In 1609 the second consignment of Virginia settlers dispatched in nine ships to reinforce the struggling colony at Jamestown was under the command of Sir George Somers, whose ship being separated from the rest in a tempest, was cast without loss of life upon the Bermudas, then uninhabited save by swine and game of various sorts. Here the castaways spent nearly a year in much content and reasonable abundance before they contrived to reach Virginia, in which at that moment there was neither the one nor the other. The comparative delights of Bermuda waxed greatly in the retrospect, and the rumours

of its amenities gathered further force in England, where the group took on the name for obvious reasons, soon distorted in sense and spelling, of the 'Somer Isles.' But Bermuda achieved in time a more practical character, though most of its importance is due to its handy situation for maritime adventure of all kinds in early days, and to its importance as a British naval and military station in later ones.

The Bermudas were settled under the auspices of an offshoot of the Virginia Company, in whose grant they were included, and remained a tobacco-growing community, under the rather cramping jurisdiction of proprietors, till 1684. Then, as was the case with the North American provinces and West Indian islands similarly held, the situation grew anomalous and intolerable, the Charter was abolished, and the little island colony came under the sole authority of the Crown. But like almost every British settlement, whether under company rule or otherwise, the Anglo-Saxon instincts of the Bermudans were gratified from their very start with a Representative Assembly, that with the shadow rather than the substance of any power except to make things at times disagreeable to its Governor, pursued much the same course as its contemporaries in many of the other colonies.

The Bermudas too, with their few thousand white inhabitants, not in this case outnumbered by slaves, had their little factions in the time of the Civil War and their little sectarian strifes like their betters. In the eighteenth century, however, planting seems to have become a minor industry, left to underlings of various degree, while the flower of the people turned their chief attention to sea-going, shipbuilding and trading, mainly with the North American colonies. For this reason their sympathies were inclined to follow their trade in the War of Independence, though, as I have before pointed out, if that were necessary, little islands in mid-ocean at that stormy period, whether in the North Atlantic or in the Caribbean Sea, were in a totally different situation from Massachusetts or Virginia.

Whatever their opinions of Stamp Acts or Navigation Laws, they were powerless to strike. Like the West Indians, however, the Bermudians were stalwart fighters and defenders of their soil against occasional attacks by Frenchmen and Spaniards, while the comparatively small slave population seem to have lived on terms of attachment to their masters, reluctant to leave them or the island, and to have freely fought in its defence on all necessary occasions.

For over a century, however, Bermuda has been best known as a naval and military station. Owing to necessary dockyard work, for some forty years in the middle of the last century it was a penal settlement, the traces of which, however, have now practically vanished. When it is said that the Representative Assembly still meets there as of old, though without responsible government, it will be time to close a perhaps too long account of a string of narrow coral islands forming the shape of a fish-hook and covering in all but twenty square miles of dry land. But lying isolated in the North Atlantic in geographical relationship, so far as they are in touch with anything, with the United States, the Bermudas have still something of the romance that in ancient times they so fortuitously earned as the 'Summer Isles.'

The other sea-girt fragment of the empire detached from any recognised colonial group is the Falkland islands, lying far away to the south off the coast of Patagonia and less than 500 miles from Cape Horn. Here we have the very antithesis of the Bermudas, though in a sense touching the imagination even more. For instead of low-lying coral islands with a thick population, a Parliament, a history, naval and military stations, and fashionable hotels for American winter visitors, are two contiguous islands with the elevation and climate of North Wales and an area about equal to that of the Principality, supporting a population of some 2000 souls, mainly shepherds of Scottish descent. Anything more different from the rest of our American or Atlantic possessions, tropical, temperate, or semi-arctic, could not well be imagined—a dreary country of treeless

unbroken bog and moorland, rising at one or two points to the height of Plinlimmon and Cader Idris, and described by Darwin as having throughout a very similar climate to that experienced by the highest sheep farms in Wales. And the comparison is the more apt as the Falklands produce practically nothing but sheep. The small stationary population, sheep farmers in a bleak country, so closely resembling in appearance and climate the wilder portions of this country, but lying in such prodigious isolation from all the world, gives this unvisited little outpost of the empire a romantic interest all its own. The climate has been described as an open blustery English winter and a still more blustering cold English summer. Both islands, however, have many natural harbours, and in the South Pacific trade they count as a convenient house of call or refuge for ships upon the less used routes. The eastern island has the majority of the population, the little town of Stanley containing about a third of it. We took formal possession of the islands in 1832, and for most of the time since then they have been, as now, a Crown colony, with a Governor and Executive and Legislative Council upon the Lilliputian scale suitable to the population and revenue.

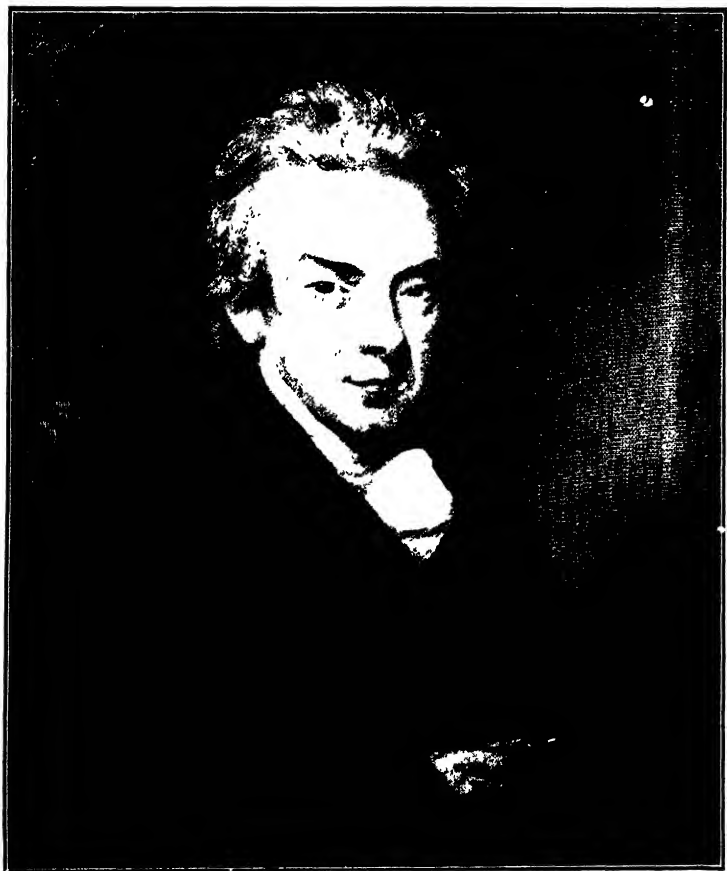
The Falklands had before this a somewhat chequered existence. Well known as a landmark to the Elizabethans, no settlement was made upon them till after the conquest of Canada, when Bougainville, who commanded that French corps which Wolfe's masterly strategy detained up the river and kept out of action at the battle of the Plains of Abraham, and was himself a famous explorer, planted a small French and Acadian settlement on the east island. Some English soon followed and squatted upon the other, but the objections of the Spaniards soon forced the abandonment of both enterprises, which left no trace but herds of wild cattle and horses, sprung from their importations. England and Spain nearly went to war on the matter in 1771, but a few years later the British Government, then embarrassed by the American question, gave way under protest, while persisting in their ownership. Fifty years later they claimed it again,

and in somewhat high-handed fashion turned out a small garrison from the Argentine Republic to whom the islands had naturally passed, and annexed them permanently, as we have seen.

The Bahamas are the most northerly of West Indian groups, lying adjacent to the coasts of Cuba and Florida—a far-extending line of fragments containing 50,000 inhabitants, less than a quarter of whom are whites. Nassau, on the island of New Providence, with a population of 5000, which made a stirring record in the American Civil War as a base for blockade runners, and now enjoys some reputation as an American health resort, is the capital. The products are mainly sponges and fruit, which all find their way to the United States.

The abolition of slavery in 1834 is much more than a fateful epoch in West Indian history. Regarded as a group it practically destroyed them as a white man's country. Their consequence has fallen away by leaps and bounds as a unit in our American possessions, not merely by their own decline, but infinitely more by the prodigious development of our continental colonies. But as a field for studying the expatriated negro in a land where he can live easily for the most part with very little labour, the West Indies have their own peculiar interest. The abolition movement headed by Wilberforce was sooner or later inevitable. The British conscience would not have tolerated slavery much longer, and in this case it put its hand nobly in its own pocket to the extent of twenty million sterling of compensation to the planters. No doubt emancipation was accomplished with too great celerity. Its leaders had no practical knowledge of the negro bondsman of the plantation, and, to judge by contemporary literature and oratory, were apt to picture him pursuing as a free man the comparatively virtuous, thrifty and industrious path of a Sussex labourer, who, moreover, must work or starve. The Americans, thirty years later, would not have freed their slaves suddenly but for the accident of a fratricidal war which practically left them no choice, though this war

was not originally embarked upon to free the slave, but to prevent the introduction of the system into newly opened western states.



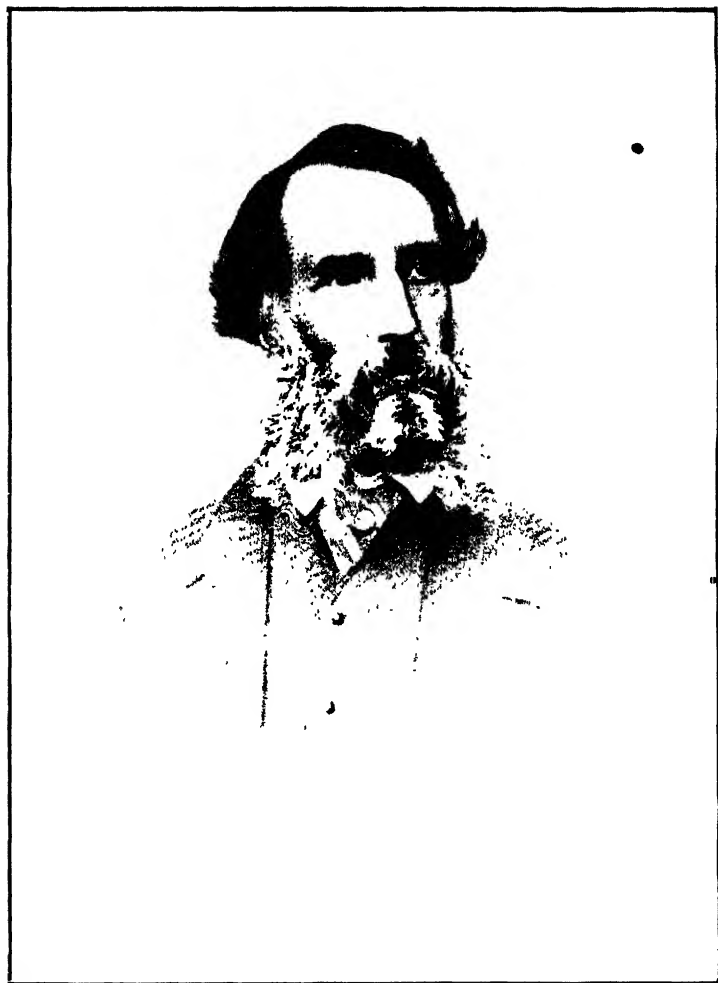
WILLIAM WILBERFORCE

The West Indian planters, as may be imagined, bitterly resented and strenuously resisted abolition, both on the score of the probable ruin of the islands and on that of their own personal security, as representing a handful of white people at the mercy of hordes of emancipated slaves. As a matter of fact, the latter danger, though justly causing apprehension,

proved far the least, for there was no serious rising till 1866, when the negroes of one portion of Jamaica broke out into a rebellion, which was promptly suppressed by Governor Eyre under martial law. A tremendous outcry was raised by a party in England against the Governor's stern measures, while others and the people of Jamaica said that he saved the island. He was superseded, after a report by a commission sent from home, but on being brought to trial on his return for murder and also for misdemeanour, the Grand Jury threw out the bills against him.

The commercial injury to the islands foreseen by the planters proved even more severe than they had anticipated, for they had not counted on free trade, which practically finished the business, bounty-led beetroot sugar from the continent of Europe making competition almost impossible. But for the English race in the West Indies the labour question is the greatest obstacle in the way of success. The emancipated slave of the United States must work or starve. The climate and conditions of life accustom him to regard work much as a white man regards it. The problem of his future is far more serious than in the West Indies, not for this reason, but because he forms a small minority in a white man's country with democratic institutions. But the West Indies are mainly a black man's country, ruled benignantly by the representatives of a powerful empire unembarrassed as yet by republican institutions and theories, and furthermore the black man is perfectly contented, well to do in his own way, and even proud of being a British subject, without that sense of being a rigidly suppressed and unwelcome exotic which makes the American negro feel he is but half an American citizen. For where the negro forms nineteen-twentieths of the population the social aloofness of the dominant twentieth, particularly when he is virtually independent of it, neither vexes his soul nor arouses mutual passions. This very condition of things to a greater or less degree throughout the islands, which makes for the happiness and content of the negro, handicaps most of the West Indies as a field for English settlers. It is not to the point

whether or no the old-established planters are just making a living or here and there something more. Such a result would



GOVERNOR LYRE

not of itself attract new British blood, with the world to choose from, to the tropics. Most of us know that banana plantations have developed greatly in Jamaica and help materially to supply our markets. Most kinds of tropical

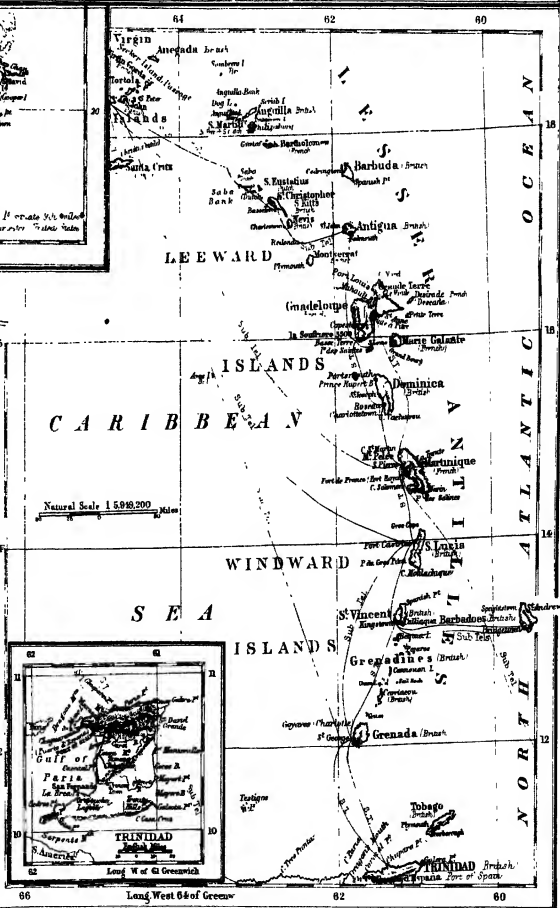
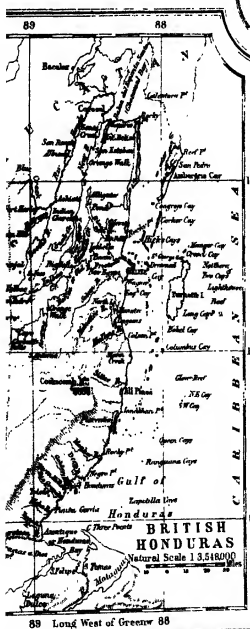
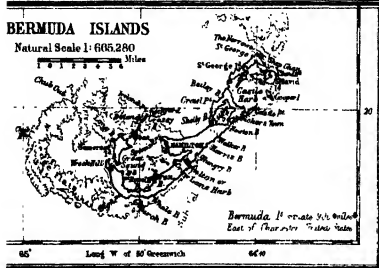
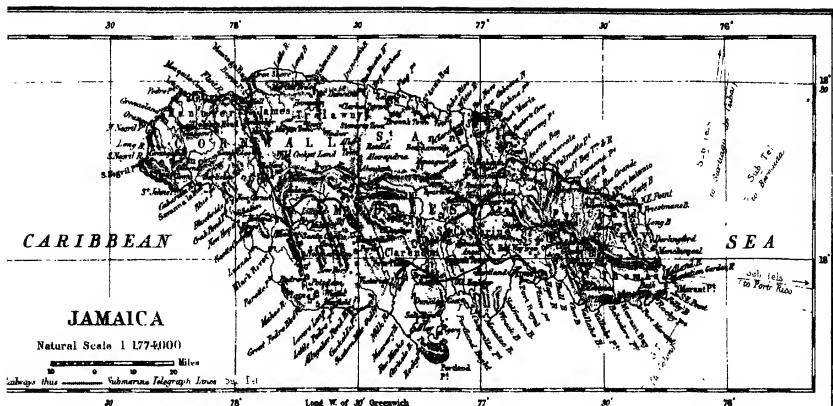
fruit, too, are shipped from the various islands to the United States. But there are an enormous number of negroes owning or renting small places, who contribute to this output, and with little labour provide themselves with the few requirements that in the tropics go to make the perfect life from the coloured man's point of view. It is quite natural that West Indians as well as others should grieve to see these famous seats of a distinguished British race become the paradise of the negro, and now this long time almost the despair of the white man. But it is not of much use asking an Englishman to take his little capital to a tropical island with a depressed industrial atmosphere because it will grow this, that and the other to perfection, if he cannot command labour and cannot always even keep his health without taking careful thought for it.

Whether the West Indian negro will be 'educated up' to a desire for superfluities so keen as to work for somebody else six days a week is problematical, to say the least of it. Most likely the islands will remain to a great extent a black man's paradise. After all, we owe him something after driving him for so many generations. If we govern him well and do our best by him, and are duly cautious in withholding from him responsibilities for which he is unfit, the empire at least, with its enormous areas, will assuredly never feel cramped for want of a white man's outlet in the West Indies. And indeed we may be thankful that our slavery period has only resulted in the loss of a picturesque type of society in a few small islands, great as they were in the days of smaller things, when we see the problem that the ex-slaves present to our kinsmen in the United States.

The governments of all the islands, as already partially indicated, have been altered to suit the times. The representative system of the old slavery days has been almost wholly abandoned, and the administration is generally that of a Governor and nominated Council, assisted in some cases by an elected element. Barbadoes alone retains, with slight alterations, its old constitution. The strategic value of the West Indies from an imperial point of view cannot be over-

estimated, and will be greatly enhanced by the opening of the Panama Canal.

The tide of West Indian trade, however, sets so strongly towards the United States, and the commercial advantages of an open market there appear so obvious, that there is always the sinister possibility of unsatisfied commercial aspirations on the part of the white population turning their thoughts in that direction. In such case, perhaps, the negro might prove too stout a monarchist. He might also prove a strong deterrent factor in the eyes of Americans, who have already many millions within their borders that they would gladly be rid of, for political and social reasons. But anticipation is no part of our business here, and we can only hope that the scope for white enterprise, which would seem to be greater in the larger mainland provinces of British Guiana and British Honduras than on the islands, may improve and expand. At the worst it would seem that the large coloured population may fairly be expected to prosper upon Christian and civilised lines, in which it may be stated the Church of England plays a conspicuous part in some islands, particularly Barbadoes, being there the almost universal creed and retaining its old endowments.



CHIEF BRITISH WEST INDIA IS., BERMUDA IS. & BRITISH HONDURAS

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